The Communist

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FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT FOR PEACE

(Review of the Month)

THE "FOREIGN AGENT" FRAUD AND THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY

A. LANDY

DUPLICATE

FORGING THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY IN CUBA

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THE POWER OF STALINIST PREDICTION

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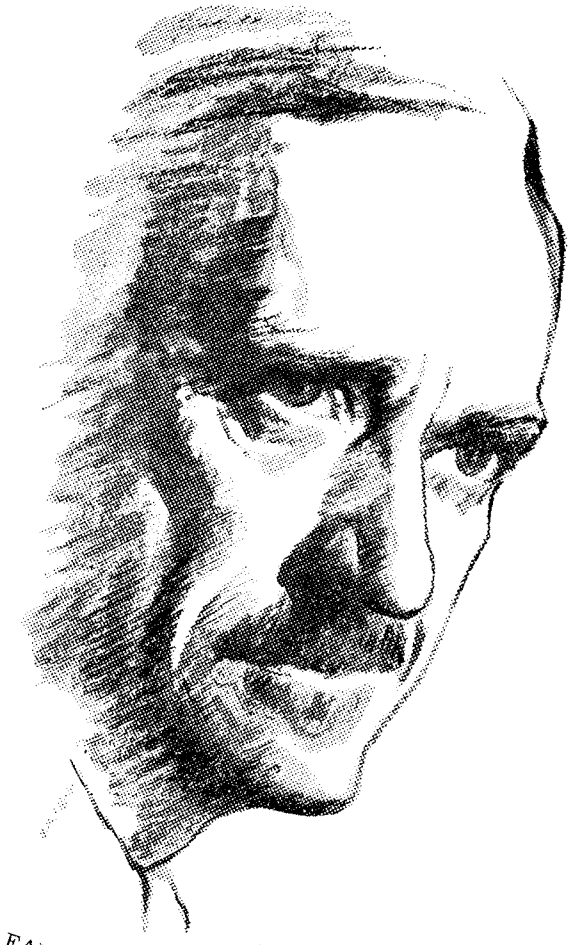

EARL BROWDER

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Anglo-American Imperialist Contradictions Are Growing. British-French Economic Collaboration and the Complaints of American Exporters. Fighting for Markets in the Midst of War. Activized Imperialism and War Preparations. Roosevelt's Program. American Labor Presents a Platform. Partisan Struggle and Class Struggle. Nature of Roosevelt's Fight on Two Fronts. Who Can Do Best the Job of the Imperialist Camp? Covering Imperialism With "National Unity." Currents and Trends in Coming Elections. Third Party Tendencies Versus Dubious Maneuvers. Masses Must Discuss Orientation for People's Peace Party. On Class Nature and Forms of Anti-Imperialist People's Front. Secretary Ickes Exercises a Maneuver—For What? Capitalism, Imperialism and Class Struggle. Stalin on Political Unity of Soviet Society. The Road of Struggle to True National Unity

COMMENTING on the Chicago speech of the British Ambassador, Lord Lothian, delivered on January 4, *The New York Times* makes this peculiar observation:

"In the light of this speech, Britain is, in fact, ready to abdicate empire in the interests of world-wide security for the democratic civilizations." (Jan. 5.)

Britain, says the *Times,* is ready to give up the empire. Presumably that is why she is waging war against Germany. She would like to surrender the Empire, not to a rival imperialism like Germany, but to the "democratic civilizations." Very well. But if that is what Britain wants, there would seem to be a relatively simple way of doing it. Let her go ahead and free India. Surely, nothing would so materially contribute to relieving Britain of the burden of Empire and to the promotion of democratic civilization as the freedom and independence of India. So, why not stop the war and start the process of abdication with the liberation of India?

It is clear that *The New York Times* did not mean that at all. What it may have meant is to suggest, ever so delicately, that India and the other British colonies could perhaps be exploited and oppressed more advantageously if it were done jointly by British and *American* imperialisms. Above all, and more immediately, the *Times* must have intended to intimate that American imperialism is going to utilize the present war in every way possible to strengthen its own positions and to acquire new ones in the markets, colonies and strategic points of the

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world. President Roosevelt's message to Congress expresses in substance these same imperialist ambitions of American finance capital.

Lord Lothian was trying to assure the ruling class of the United States that it is already sharing world power with Britain. He said, "We control the Atlantic and you control the Pacific" and that "Britain neither can nor ought to play by herself the dominant role she played in the last century." But that could hardly satisfy American finance capital. It certainly does not satisfy the American exporters, who are at this very moment engaged in the bitterest struggle with British imperialism for trade, markets and other imperialist "opportunities."

This struggle is rarely featured on the front pages of our newspapers, but it is real nevertheless. It is reported in the business and financial sections of the press, from which it is seen that American imperialism is at present engaged in a sharpening and widespread struggle for markets and colonies and that this struggle is directed primarily against British imperialism.

Reviewing foreign trade prospects for the coming period, Charles E. Egan reports (*The New York Times*, Jan. 2) that the outlook in the Scandinavian and Latin American markets is one of sharp conflict with England. He says, American exporters "are convinced that the purchase of foodstuffs and other supplies [by the Allies] will be diverted to English and French colonies and to the Scandinavian and Latin American markets, where England seeks to capture German trade." In other words, England stands in the way of American exporters securing trade and markets in Scandinavian and Latin American countries.

Exporters in the United States are concerned most particularly with Latin America, the traditional imperialist preserve of American finance capital. Yet it is precisely here that British imperialism seems to be offering the greatest resistance to American expansion, even though Lord Lothian only the other day reaffirmed England's approval of the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Egan goes on to say that:

"England is reported among exporters to be particularly set on acquiring the $250,000,000 annual market Germany enjoyed in Latin America and to be prepared to resort *to barter methods of trade* to accomplish her aims." (Our emphasis—*A. B.*)

So, British imperialism is preparing to confront its American rivals with the same "methods of trade" —barter—as those used by German imperialism. No wonder the *Wall Street Journal* Washington Bureau reports a "continuation of the struggle between the United States and Great Britain for Latin American markets," a report which the *Journal* headlines (Dec. 23, 1939) as rivalry "With Britain in Latin America."

But it is not only in Latin America that this rivalry takes place, although here American imperialist reactions are bound to be sharpest. The economic and financial accord concluded by England and France in

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December of last year, while directed mainly against Germany, is just as much a weapon of economic warfare against American imperialism. The *Wall Street Journal* speaks plainly of "Britain's economic war" (Dec. 26, 1939), and suggests that the American State Department look into the matter to find the possible "impact on our reciprocal treaties."

This is, of course, a cautious way of speaking. It is not only the reciprocal treaties that are involved here, although these are in a veritable crisis, which explains the Congressional fight about the issue. Britain's economic war, which the Anglo-French economic and financial accord is called upon to promote, is a weapon of struggle to preserve the colonies, markets and positions of world power of these two imperialist powers, to preserve the British and French empires. Being a weapon of this kind, it is naturally and inevitably directed against *all* imperialist rivals of these two powers and, primarily, of England, since she is the leading partner. This means that England's economic war, and the Anglo-French economic accord, are directed also against the expansionist ambitions and moves of American imperialism.

And this is what American exporters are "complaining" about. Which is merely another way of saying that Britain's economic war is the other side of the economic war planned and carried on by *American* imperialism. It is Britain's answer to the attempt of American imperialism to utilize the present war for the expansion and strengthening of the world positions of American finance capital. In brief, we are dealing here with a sharpening of the Anglo-American imperialist contradictions, as well as with a sharpening of the imperialist contradictions between the United States and Japan.

It is important to understand that Britain's economic war against the United States, as well as Japan's in the Far East, is just *the other side* of the economic warfare waged by American imperialism against its rivals. The Washington Bureau of the *Wall Street Journal* reports that:

"Despite the unpredictable nature of many factors that make analysis difficult, scattered developments in recent days show clearly that the United States is engaged in a struggle of major proportions to salvage as much as possible of its pre-war world trade and expand and reorient as much as possible in other directions." (Dec. 23, 1939.)

American imperialism "is engaged in a struggle of major proportions." And not just for commercial opportunities and trade. For even in peace time, the struggle for "commercial" opportunities inevitably took the form of imperialist rivalry for the possession of colonies and spheres of domination, due to the rule of monopoly finance capital in the capitalist countries. This being so, is it to be expected that this same struggle for trade by American imperialism could be carried on peacefully and freely in the midst of an imperialist war, waged by three of the biggest capitalist powers in Europe and one in the Far East, in

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which war is involved an imperialist redivision of the world by force of arms? No such expectations can be entertained realistically and life itself is already proving it so.

Life is already proving that the "activization" of American finance capital in foreign affairs; its far-flung plans and activities for markets, spheres of influence and strategic positions in various parts of the world; that this "activization" (carried on under the flag of "neutrality") is increasingly sharpening the imperialist rivalries and contradictions between America and England as well as between America and Japan. With regard to Latin America, it must be added that there the expansionist activities of American finance capital are also sharpening the contradictions between American imperialism and the peoples of those countries who oppose the strengthening of Wall Street's power over them. And a similar trend of opposition is bound to spread among the people of China as a result of American imperialist machinations in the Far East.

Thus Wall Street imperialism, and the Washington Administration which is carrying out its policies, *are involving America* in ever sharper imperialist conflicts and rivalries. They brazenly exploit the resources, strength and influence of the United States to enrich the monopolies and to increase their power over other peoples and countries which, in the final analysis, increases their power over the people of the United States. They are leading the country to war. And this is the situation facing American labor, and its allies among the toiling farmers and poor middle classes, as the present session of Congress gets into swing.

* * *

BECAUSE it incorporates most of the essential needs and demands of the masses at the present time, the legislative program of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) represents in fact a practical basis on which to build the fighting unity of the working people of the United States. It does so because it fulfils two important requirements.

First, the legislative program of the C.I.O. embodies the progressive demands, not only of the workers organized in the C.I.O. itself, but also of those that are organized in the A. F. of L. Hence, this program represents an effective instrumentality for cementing the unity of the working class. Second, this program contains the main progressive demands of the toiling farmers, at least, the fundamentals of these demands. Hence, it offers just as effective an instrumentality for extending and strengthening the alliance of labor with the farming masses. It also projects certain principles for bringing into this alliance the poor sections of the city middle classes.

In brief: it is a practical program of immediate action that can unite the overwhelming majority of the American people against the imperialist exploiters and warmongers, thus helping to preserve and extend the progressive gains of the people.

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In the struggle for the realization of this program, labor and its allies will gain a clearer understanding of their historic tasks and liberating mission. They will gain such understanding through the experiences of the struggle, deepened and illuminated by the political work of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party.

Thus can and will be built the unity of the American people, the only road in the present period towards American national unity.

Is there another road? No, not to real national unity. The one proposed in President Roosevelt's message to Congress is not national unity at all. It is, in plain words, a program for uniting the imperialists and the monopolists and for subordinating the masses of the people—the nation—to the imperialist camp. It is a program for *sacrificing* the immediate as well as fundamental interests of the masses to the interests of their exploiters and oppressors. How can this be called national unity?

The fact that Roosevelt's partisan opponents—the Republicans—are not responding readily or sympathetically to his appeal for "national unity" should not deceive us as to the *class* character of this appeal—its imperialist and capitalist class character. Let us remember that the American capitalist class has been and is ruling the country through the instrumentality of two parties, the so-called two-party system. This means that, regardless of how much unity there may exist in the capitalist class on the major issues of the time, a certain amount of conflict and "partisanship" between the two capitalist parties is inherent and inevitable in the very set-up of this system.

More than that. Due to the fact that the working class of America has not as yet succeeded in building up a powerful mass political party of its own, with sufficient power in Congress and the Senate to influence *directly* the legislation of the Federal Government, mass discontent and pressure for relief have repeatedly been seeking expression through the capitalist parties, through those elements within them that proved in practice more responsive to mass pressure. This fact has tended in the past, and may continue in the future, to intensify conflict within the capitalist parties as well as "partisanship" between them.

And, lastly, there is the operation of various and conflicting *sectional* and *group* interests within the capitalist class. In times of relative peace, these sectional and group conflicts among the capitalists used to dominate practically the political scene, splitting the working class and its allies and drawing them into the wake of inter-capitalist struggles. On the other hand, in times of stress, that is, of sharpened class struggle as well as imperialist conflict, the sectional and group conflicts within the capitalist class would tend to recede into the background, becoming subordinated to the common *class* interests of the bourgeoisie. But even then, the so-called partisan struggles between the two capitalist parties would not

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disappear altogether. No. They would assume a different form as well as a different content.

This is precisely what is happening today. The program of "national unity" formulated by President Roosevelt in his Congress message seeks to corral the toiling masses, the majority of the American people, behind the imperialist and war-making policies of the bourgeoisie, and of the Government which is carrying out these policies. It subordinates and sacrifices the interests of the nation to the interests of the monopolies. And this is the *class content* of Roosevelt's national unity. In this sense, it is really "non-partisan" because it expresses the basic interests of all sections and parties of the imperialist bourgeoisie, *standing in irreconcilable conflict to the interests of labor and its allies.*

If this is so, it is argued, then why is there still a struggle between the Republican and Democratic Parties? Why don't these parties of the bourgeoisie unite on the program formulated by President Roosevelt? To which the answer has already been indicated in the foregoing. The answer lies in the nature of the so-called two-party system as a result of which the bourgeoisie achieves a practical unity of its class on the major issues of the time, while its two parties continue their partisan conflicts *in a somewhat new and different way,* different in form and different in content.

Examine Roosevelt's message to Congress, and the subsequent developments in and around Congress, from the standpoint of the "new way" in which the two major parties carry on their partisanship. No one can miss the new elements in the situation, so emphasized by Roosevelt in his Jackson Day speech. And it is only natural that the initiative in making the change should be taken by the Democratic Party, since it is the ruling party today.

When we examine, therefore, Roosevelt's Congress message and his Jackson Day speech from the point of view of *party relationships,* what do we find that is really significant? First, an attempt to prevent by all means the crystallization of a third-party break of a true anti-imperialist and peace nature, a break away of those toiling masses who have been supporting the Democratic Party on the basis of the New Deal. Second, an attempt to preserve before the people a "middle-of-the-road" position by projecting a struggle on "two fronts," against the Right and against the Left.

The first needs at this point no further elaboration. It is the second that is especially relevant to our discussion on the new partisanship between the two capitalist parties. Now, then, Roosevelt says that he is going to fight against both—his opponents from the Right and his opponents from the Left. Is he really going to do it? Yes, he is. And wouldn't he be violating his own appeal for "national unity"? No, he would not. Because his struggle against the Right he will be pursuing on the basis of being best qualified to put across the class program of the American bourgeoisie,

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while his fight against the Left he will seek to wage as a united fight of the capitalist class against the anti-imperialist, anti-war and anti-monopoly masses of the people. In other words, his fight against the Right will be (already is) a partisan fight against "factional" opponents in the bourgeoisie while his fight against the Left will be (already is) a *class* struggle against *class* adversaries.

What does Roosevelt's fight against the Right consist of? In essence, it consists of a process of *taking over* the policies of the Right, *making these policies his own*, and, on this basis, seeking to show up his opponents from the Right (whether in the Democratic Party or in the Republican Party) as being purely factional and partisan without any serious political basis for opposition. The most dramatic demonstration of this maneuver is found in the manner in which Roosevelt combats Dies. The President's argument is that we don't need a Dies Committee because the Department of Justice can do the "job" *better*.

This partisan struggle between the parties of the bourgeoisie is real and will become very bitter. But what is the political content of this struggle as far as the *dominating* sections of the parties are concerned? It is: who shall be given the power to enforce the imperialist and war-making policies of the bourgeoisie? Who can corral and hold most *mass* support for these policies? Who can do the class job of the bourgeoisie better? And this is the "new way" of partisanship in the capitalist class; the way which seeks to cement maximum class unity in the imperialist camp *against* the masses of the American people *as well as* against the rivals of American imperialism on the world arena; to cement this imperialist unity in a way *that is conditioned* by the historical antecedents and present-day requirements of the traditional two-party system of the American bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, Roosevelt's fight against the Left, in which he will have the backing (in various forms) of the entire imperialist camp and its agents, will be of a totally different *class* nature and also different in form and methods. It will be the further and sharper unfolding of the reactionary imperialist offensive upon labor and the toiling farmers. An offensive which in its present, initial phases is directed mainly towards *isolating* and, in part, *suppressing* the more advanced forces of the people—the Communist Party, the progressive labor unions, the militant youth—and which is already affecting the well being of wide masses of the population. Roosevelt's budget indicates plainly the direction of this attack upon the masses.

From which follows that progressive labor, especially the Communists, have now the task: (a) to expose and demonstrate before the masses of the people the imperialist class nature of the capitalist "national unity" which sacrifices the needs of the masses to the war schemes of the monopolies, preparing to suppress by violence, if need be, the resistance of the people to

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being sacrificed; (b) to expose and demonstrate before the masses the continued abandonment of the progressive features of the New Deal by the Administration, its movement into the camp of imperialist reaction, its attempts to become *the leader* of that camp against the majority of the people; (c) to organize the mass unfolding of activities and struggles for the partial and immediate interests of the people, giving these struggles *a political lead and direction* and paying major attention to the organization of the unorganized into the unions; and (d) to carry on systematically and in earnest the enlightenment of the masses on the need of separating from the capitalist imperialist parties and of crystallizing an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly people's party of peace.

For the unity of the people, headed by labor, against all imperialists, monopolists and warmongers! For an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly people's party of peace!

* * *

AS WE move closer to the presidential elections of 1940, we shall not only witness a general intensification of the political struggle in the country, but also various attempts to divert anti-imperialist third-party tendencies and movements into channels hostile to the masses; or dubious at best. To which the answer obviously is, not hesitation to promote among the *masses* third-party, anti-imperialist tendencies, but utmost concentration on developing such mass tendencies *into movements.*

It is reported, for example, that the Norman Thomas "Socialists" are toying with the proposition of a "third party." But the meaning of and prospects for this sort of thing are perfectly clear. These are the dreams of a group of political bankrupts, looking for a more "successful" way of serving the American imperialist bourgeoisie. It must have occurred to them that, with the help of the imperialists who need badly "Socialist" inciters against the Soviet Union among the more advanced masses, they might be able to redeem their fortunes by riding into some sort of national farmer-labor party. In other words, with Finland's Mannerheim—to victory.

Perhaps in the dreaming of these dreams, if not in their realization, the Norman Thomas-Mannerheim-Wallenius "Socialists" might also have the assistance of the Lovestone detachment of the imperialists. Perhaps. And as to the Trotskyite agents of the enemy, who advocate the "defeat" of Mannerheim through the "overthrow" of the Soviet Government, these would probably help the cause of Norman Thomas in a general way but by their own special means. All in all, it makes up a "combination" which is destined to disillusionment in whatever dreams it may be dreaming. Especially if we systematically expose their doings before the masses.

Of course, there still remains Waldman's Social-Democratic Federation which is desperately trying to subvert the New York Labor Party into an agency of Wall Street

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imperialism among the workers and especially into a vanguard inciter against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. In addition, it is also necessary to note that the Norman Thomas "Socialists" and the Lovestoneites, while working jointly with Waldman and Rose to help the Finnish White Guards, do not seem to share fully the views of their partners on the outlook for the coming national elections. The Waldman-Rose-Dubinsky outfit is giving all indications of wanting to go along with Roosevelt, wherever that may take them; whereas the Thomasites and Lovestoneites have turned their attention towards "third-party" possibilities. But, generally speaking, the situation here is still in flux and many things may yet happen.

It would seem, therefore, that a certain practical problem confronts the anti-imperialist camp, in this connection. What is it? It is to bring out the whole matter *before the masses,* in full daylight, for the broadest possible discussion. Nothing will serve better to expose and frustrate the machinations of Mannerheim's agents in the labor movement than a discussion by the masses and their progressive organizations of the immediate tasks facing them *in connection with the coming national elections.*

The time for such discussions by the masses is here. The very proximity of the elections makes it necessary. But, above all, the projection of the need of an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly party of peace, for discussion among the masses and their organizations, will serve as a powerful stimulus for promoting and uniting the anti-imperialist tendencies among labor and its allies, exposing and isolating the agents of imperialism in the labor movement.

We repeat: the masses must be helped to a broad discussion of how to unite the anti-imperialist camp, how to bring about the crystallization of a people's party of peace, initiated and headed by labor. This is dictated also by another set of considerations.

First, is it true, as President Roosevelt insists, that there is no room for special peace parties in the United States since all parties are for peace? To which the answer is: it is false. Both parties of the bourgeoisie are imperialist parties and, consequently, war parties. The only national political party in the country that is fundamentally and thoroughly an anti-imperialist peace party is the Communist Party. And that's why it is being persecuted.

But the Communist Party is, fortunately, not the only force opposing American imperialism and war. On the anti-imperialist side are found—by force of their fundamental interests—the working class, the toiling farmers, the poor sections of the city middle classes. Moreover, ever larger numbers of them are increasingly taking attitudes of opposition to the imperialist and war-provoking policies of Wall Street and of the Washington Administration. This is still done, in most instances, indirectly, cautiously, one might almost say, "diplomatically." But the spreading undercurrent of distrust and opposition to Roose-

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velt's imperialist interventions is *unmistakable*. The masses are clearly feeling their way to effective practical forms of struggle against these policies. They are undoubtedly beginning to wonder how this will express itself in the coming national elections.

Consequently, this question has to be clearly formulated before the masses and discussed with them. The Communist Party has already indicated the main approach to answering the question. It said: the task in the present period is to consolidate an anti-imperialist people's front of the workers, toiling farmers and poor middle classes, headed by labor, to combat the imperialist and war offensive of the monopolies. This formulates the major task in terms of class relations and alignments, and is, therefore, the main thing. Life has already proved that this is precisely the way class alignments are forming today before our very eyes.

The question still remained, however, of what particular *form* or *forms* the anti-imperialist class alignment will take. This couldn't be answered at once, nor can it as yet be answered fully today, although it is clear that the organizational basis of the anti-imperialist people's front today must be the progressive organizations of the toiling masses—the unions, farm organizations, and the organizations of the unemployed, youth, women, Negro, etc. The *complete* answer to the form or forms of the anti-imperialist people's front will become possible with the further unfolding of mass activities and struggles by the various forces of the anti-imperialist camp. To promote, organize, unite and politically develop such activities and struggles is therefore task number one for the progressive and anti-imperialist leaders of the masses.

At the same time, it was also becoming clear that the proximity of the national elections is raising the question of the political or electoral form in which the *various* forces of the anti-imperialist peace front could come to expression in a *united* and *effective* way. To this question, the Communist Party has proposed to give the following answer. Namely: it was becoming necessary for the forces of the anti-imperialist people's front to *orientate* on the crystallization of an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly party of peace. And this is how the thing stands today.

It is beyond doubt that this answer meets, not only a need, but also growing sentiments and tendencies among the masses. And when taken to the masses and their organizations for broad discussion and political enlightenment, this answer will act powerfully as a unifier and stimulator of all such sentiments and tendencies. It will tend to challenge most effectively the efforts of *both* capitalist parties and their agents in the labor movement to tie the masses to the imperialist chariot of the bourgeoisie. It will help build and unite the forces of the anti-imperialist people's front.

But there is also a second set of considerations favoring the orientation towards an anti-imperialist party of peace. It is to meet and

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combat the maneuvers by certain elements in the Administration with third-party "threats" as a means of strengthening their position in the Democratic Party.

For example: on various occasions, Secretary Ickes and others have made statements to the effect that, if both major parties nominate "conservatives" for the presidency, it will be necessary to launch a third party, even though it could not win. What is the meaning of this?

An objective examination shows that we are dealing here with an attempt to accomplish two things. One is, to use the third-party issue as a *threat,* primarily against Roosevelt's opponents in the Democratic Party, for the purpose of promoting Roosevelt's own plans in the Democratic nominating convention; and, two, to seize and hold the initiative in possible third-party developments for the purpose of corralling the progressive non-partisan voters to the support of the *Democratic* Party, should that course be favored by Roosevelt, whether he is a candidate or not. In other words, Secretary Ickes and his political friends would seem to be using the third-party issue *as a maneuver subordinate to Roosevelt's tactics and plans.*

If that were not so, Secretary Ickes would certainly take a very critical attitude, if not one of outright opposition, to the present-day domestic and foreign policies of the Roosevelt Administration. He would, in fact, have to resign from the Cabinet. That is, if he were in serious disagreement with Roosevelt's imperialist policies, with his steady swing to the reactionary camp, with his attempt to take over the leadership of that camp. But Secretary Ickes and his political friends do none of these things. Instead, they prefer to dwell in the nebulous realm of "liberalism" versus "conservatism," saying not a word about the real issues of today, promoting Roosevelt and supporting his policies.

But that is not all. If the third-party "threat" were more than a Roosevelt maneuver with them, Ickes and his friends would not merely insinuate (in the vaguest possible way) the possibility of a "national conference of liberals" but would openly and publicly address themselves *to organized labor,* in the first place, and to labor's allies to come together and jointly discuss these questions. For it is clear that no one can talk seriously of progressive third-party movements at the present time *without* joining with labor and supporting labor's initiative. And, in passing, why doesn't Secretary Ickes endorse the legislative program of the C.I.O.?

The conclusion, therefore, is inescapable that the Ickes third-party "moves" are a subordinate part to Roosevelt's imperialist plans both within the Democratic Party as well as within the country as a whole. In this sense, the Ickes maneuvers tend in a direction that is hostile and contrary to the interests of a genuine anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly party of peace.

This too presents a problem to the leaders of the anti-imperialist camp. How to combat these and similar

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maneuvers? How to counteract the attempts to hold and bind the masses politically to the imperialists and capitalists, to the Democratic Party in the coming elections? How to frustrate the efforts of certain "liberals" to prevent the crystallization of a united anti-imperialist people's front?

Again the answer is: *bring the masses into the situation.* Organize and activize the forces of the anti-imperialist camp from below along all fronts of struggle for the immediate needs and demands of the masses. Give these struggles a political lead and direction. *Unify them around the central orientation towards an anti-imperialist party of peace.* This will inevitably frustrate all hostile maneuvers and moves. It will, incidentally, also rouse to greater activity those elements in the capitalist parties which are critical of the imperialist and reactionary trends and are capable of fighting against them.

* * *

IT IS worth noting in President Roosevelt's message to Congress the attack on those who seek to rouse class against class, race against race, nation against nation. It is worth doing so for many reasons, the main one being that the *essence* of his own policy today is nothing but the mobilization of one grand offensive of class against class, race against race, nation against nation. Because: this is the essence of imperialism, and Roosevelt's policy is an imperialist policy.

President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union may still think that there is nothing in Roosevelt's "motives and objectives" that labor couldn't support. In fact, the workers are still waiting for President Hillman to repudiate publicly the attempt of Herbert Hoover and Matthew Woll to use the name of the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the "relief" campaign for the Mannerheim-Tanner White Guards. The workers now know better than they did several months ago that the "motives and objectives," that is, the *policies* of President Roosevelt are those of the American imperialist bourgeoisie—the mortal enemy of the American working class. A fresh demonstration of this truth we have in the President's Congress message and in his budgetary proposals.

The essence of Roosevelt's program, as we have shown, is imperialism. It is to sacrifice the interests of the overwhelming majority of the American people to those of a group of monopoly capitalists. It is a mobilization program of an offensive of the *capitalist class* against the masses of the people, the working class and its allies. It is furthermore a mobilization program for an offensive by America *against other* nations and peoples—an offensive for predatory imperialist conquests. It is a program of class against class and nation against nation. It is the program of warfare of a small exploiting minority against the overwhelming exploited majority of the people at home and against its imperialist rivals abroad. And this is the program that undertakes to parade as "national unity"!

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One might elucidate the subject further by drawing attention to the undisputable fact that, by its very nature, capitalism means class division, class exploitation and oppression and, inevitably, class struggle. That is why every attempt of the capitalist class and its government "to abolish" class struggle, to establish "national unity," means in fact an attempt to prevent the working class and its allies from effectively resisting the attacks and exploitation of the capitalist class. An attempt which begins with fine speeches and persuasion and ends with violence.

This doesn't, of course, abolish the class struggle. It makes it, on the contrary, more intense and sharper. What it does succeed in doing for a while is to place the *exploited* classes in a more difficult position to resist the attacks of the *exploiting* classes. And that is perhaps all that the more realistic imperialists expect through Roosevelt's program of "national unity." Yet the attempt to put this program into effect, in the face of rising opposition from the masses, will undoubtedly deepen the understanding of the working class of its liberating mission, thus undermining still further the capitalist system and capitalist domination.

For, in the last analysis, true and lasting national unity is possible only under socialism. Only the socialist reorganization of society, which establishes common ownership of the means of production and removes the class domination of the monopolies, lays the basis for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, class by class, and nation by nation. In doing so, it lays the basis for the disappearance of classes and class divisions altogether. Society moves towards communism.

This process is plainly demonstrated in the Soviet Union. And here is how Comrade Stalin describes it:

"The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. While capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable contradictions between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords—resulting in its internal instability—Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such contradictions, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of friendly collaboration between workers, peasants and intellectuals. It is this community of interest which has formed the basis for the development of such motive forces as the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the mutual friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism. It has also been the basis for the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. adopted in November, 1936, and for the complete democratization of the elections to the supreme organs of the country." (Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 35-36.)

Where the exploiting classes have been eliminated, there is no class

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struggle. Hence the way to the abolition of the class struggle is the way of freeing society from the yoke of exploitation, the way of socialism. Where this system has been established, and the workers, farmers and intellectuals "live and work in friendly collaboration," there society *as a whole* is motivated in its life by a "community of interest" on the basis of which develops a true "moral and political unity." This is socialism on the way to communism.

This moral and political unity of Soviet society has once again been convincingly demonstrated in the results of the recent elections to the local and district Soviets. According to the report in *The New York Times*, the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party members received from 96.73 per cent of the total vote to 99.69. And, incidentally, out of an electorate of 93,500,000, the number of voters taking part in the elections amounted to 92,800,000. Of the 1,281,000 deputies elected, nearly 33 per cent are women.

But what is the basis of all this? *No exploiters and a community of interest between the various groups in society.* Does this look like American society today, or like any other capitalist society? Merely to ask is to answer. Never before in the history of this country have the monopolies dominated more thoroughly the economic life and fortunes of the people. And we cite as authority for this statement the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In his message to the "Temporary National Economic Committee," dated April 29, 1938, the President wrote:

"Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing.

"This concentration is seriously impairing the economic effectiveness of private enterprise as a way of providing employment for labor and capital and as a way of assuring a more equitable distribution of income and earnings among the people of the nation as a whole."

A concentration of "private power" *is growing*, a concentration "without equal in history."

And who is that "private power"? Said President Roosevelt: "a handful of huge corporations." Then he went on:

"Today many Americans ask the uneasy question: Is the vociferation that our liberties are in danger justified by the facts?

"Today's answer on the part of average men and women in every part of the country is far more accurate than it would have been in 1929 for the very simple reason that during the past nine years we have been doing a lot of common-sense thinking. Their answer is that if there is that danger it comes from that concentrated economic power which is struggling so hard to master our democratic government."

Now, what community of interest is there between the mass of the American people and "that concentrated economic power" of the monopolies? The economic power "which is struggling so hard to master our democratic government" and which has mastered it? Again:

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merely to ask the question is to answer.

The fact is that the American people are today infinitely more uneasy than they were in April, 1938, when President Roosevelt was still finding it expedient to voice somewhat the uneasy feeling of the masses with the growth of monopoly power. Now the masses are confronted with the task of carrying forward the fight against the monopolies without Roosevelt and in opposition to him. They cannot afford to let themselves be deceived by the cry of "national unity" which is merely a shield for an imperialist and war-making offensive by the capitalist class. They—the masses—are learning daily that the need of the hour is unity of the people against the exploiters, the imperialists, the war-makers. And this means the alliance of labor with the toiling farmers and poor middle classes into an anti-imperialist people's front of peace.

This and only this is the road of struggle to eventual true national unity. A. B.

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"TO THE PEOPLE WILL BELONG THE VICTORY"

BY EARL BROWDER

(Text of an address delivered by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., at the Lenin Memorial Meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York City, January 22, 1940.)

FRIENDS! I am very happy to be able to speak to you this evening and to take part in this commemoration of the anniversary of the death of our great leader, Lenin.

Lenin taught us much. Very often we forget how much of the understanding that we have of the world about us, of the struggles that are taking place, we owe to the teachings of Lenin. How often we forget that if we can look upon this turbulent and chaotic scene of American social and political life and make some meaning out of it and see ahead what is coming, we must thank the teachings of Lenin for that ability. And it is well that we have these meetings every year to remind ourselves of that great source of wisdom and to remind ourselves that, although Lenin died, Leninism lives, and that Lenin left a worthy successor who is continuing the work which he did with brilliant success, that great pupil and continuer of Lenin, our dear Comrade Joseph Stalin. The international working class movement—the Communist movement of the world—that can produce such leaders and teachers can never be defeated.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Lenin and of Lenin's best co-worker is this—they never allow themselves to be carried away with the joys of victory, and in moments of sharp struggle or defeat, they never get panicky, they never get excited, they never whine. The more difficult the moment, the more steadfast and steel-like and cool they stand in the midst of the storm until, with the great rising mass movement, they not only ride the storm but control the storm and bring the ship of the working class to port.

Today, I received on your behalf the sentence against our movement. I consider it a great honor. At the same time, carrying our appeal from this court of the ruling class of America to the people of America, we must warn the people that the verdict of this case is only one incident in the drive of the American ruling class toward war, and especially in converting

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the present imperialist war into war against the Soviet Union. In this court today I was prohibited from speaking, except within the limits that were laid down by the judge. I observed those limits which he laid down, even though in the observation of those limits, I was constantly coming into collision with them. But what was it that the judge wanted above all to prevent me from speaking about in that court? The one thing above all that was prohibited from even being whispered there was the motive of the prosecution. A great deal was said about the motive of the defendant. But in order to discuss the motive of the prosecution, we have to get outside the courtroom. And while we still have this privilege of discussing outside the courtroom, let us make the most of it. It is not enough to say in a general way that the motive of this prosecution lies in the general campaign of our ruling class to prepare our country for war. That is true. We have to concretize it a little, a good deal more than that.

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION DRIVES TOWARD WAR

Since last summer, the powers that be have been preparing their drive against the Communist Party, and we have been warning that this was only the opening gun of the drive against the whole labor movement and against American democracy. Up until last summer this drive was being carried on outside the Administration of the Federal Government and was directed in the first place against the New Deal Administration. Since last August, a great change has come about. The drive is carried on through the Administration because the New Deal lamb has lain down with the reactionary lion. Unity has been achieved. The lamb has been eaten and the lion stands now in the robes of the Administration carrying out the policies of a generally united American bourgeoisie—united on the program to scrap the progressive social legislation of the New Deal, to revise the budget in favor of the economic royalists and against the people, to cut down on all social services and unemployed benefits and all the money saved thereby, by this economy at the expense of the people, to dump into a great program of war preparations.

That's what has happened—a great shift of class forces and the crystallization of a great drive in a particular direction against the living standards of the people, against their civil rights and against their peace.

Up until the last months in which this change has taken place, the Communists were supporting the New Deal against the reactionary camp of the Republicans and the anti-New Deal Democrats. So long as the camp of reaction found any obstacle in the New Deal camp, we supported it. But when peace was made with the economic royalists, they could not carry us along with them. The whole progressive democratic bloc was broken up. We Communists were a part of that bloc. We never were officially recognized, of course. We were the poor rela-

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tions, even though Governor Lehman of New York occupies his position instead of Thomas E. Dewey on account of the votes of the Communist Party. But we were a part of the progressive bloc that protected New Deal legislation against the assaults of the reactionaries before it was broken up by the surrender of the New Deal leadership and their passing into the camp of their former opponents. When these gentlemen thought that they could use the support of the Communists, we became almost respectable. Never quite respectable. Almost. They knew us then. They knew almost everything about us. One thing they did not know about us. They did not know that they could not handle us as servants when they betrayed the cause of the people. When we were in agreement on protecting New Deal legislation and a peace policy, these gentlemen were very glad to receive our support, as long as we did not make too much noise about it.

A HERO FOR ONE CAMPAIGN

When the Governor of Michigan in 1938 was deserted by his own political machine and faced a stiff fight with the Republicans without a machine behind him, he was glad to get the support of the Communist Party in conducting his campaign for re-election. He will not deny it. He is a God-fearing man. He would not lie about it. He would not deny he had long intimate conferences with Communists as to how best to conduct his campaign for Governor. But he lost his election by 2 per cent of the vote. We were not able to win the election for him. And he was a hero only for one campaign. After he was defeated, he saw a great light. He became convinced he had made a great mistake when he had failed to heed the advice of some of our "best families." He demonstrated he had learned his lesson and would be a good boy thereafter. And there was opened up the prospect for him to retire to the most exclusive old men's club of America. But before he could do that, he had to present certain guarantees. He had to present some "head on a charger" according to the ancient tradition. He had to seal his bargain, metaphorically speaking, with the blood of the associates who had tainted his past. That is one of the smaller angles to the sentence in the Federal District Court today.

Well, we never wasted any time weeping about those who have deserted from the fight, and surrendered to the enemy and entered into their service. As a matter of fact, we never had many illusions about these people. We had read our Marx and Lenin and had understood that while sections of the petty bourgeoisie and some of the bourgeoisie may occupy progressive positions in certain historic moments—and when they do, we join forces with them for that moment against the reactionaries—we knew it is in the very nature of these class forces that they cannot follow a consistent position from one year to another, for any long period, and rarely can occupy a consistent position from month to month except when they are solidified and led by their most reactionary section.

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THE THREAT TO AMERICAN LABOR

And that is what is taking place today. The trial today is the opening gun in a great campaign to curb and harness the labor movement. It belongs along with the campaign to scrap and hamstring the National Labor Relations Board, along with the war-and-hunger budget in Congress, and along with the campaign to "get" labor leaders, which is now broadening out. How rapidly this campaign is developing in our country we can note if we remember that a few months ago the newspapers never threatened any labor leaders except the C.I.O. But reading the *World-Telegram* editorial this afternoon—the leading editorial—we find it directed to William Green, and its says: William Green, your name is on the list too. You come next. Well, that's only according to the well-known laws of class struggle. The only people who are surprised are the people to whom Marxism-Leninism is a closed book. If we want to be able to understand and to a certain degree to foresee events, we must study the science and history of the workers, of the great masters of the science of history, which is the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin.

Yes, these temporary associates of ours in the democratic progressive bloc had gathered rather tentatively around progressive New Deal measures for a certain historical period. These former associates of ours don't need us any more. What use are we to them now? When they were fighting for social betterment, well, they not only needed us to round up the people for these things, they even needed us often to help them draft their speeches. They didn't know how to do it. They don't need us for these things any more. They are not making that kind of speeches and they don't want to rouse the masses. In the days when they did want to rouse the masses, we had the peculiar experience with them that we had to restrain them. They were ultra-Leftist and very often we had to warn them that that kind of tactics is not good—you had better lay off of it. We were a sobering and restraining influence upon them. Just as now they need a sobering and restraining influence from another direction.

That instability arises out of the very class nature of these people; constantly torn by contradictions, they have interests here and interests there, and they cannot be reconciled. The daughter-in-law may be married to a munitions family and there is a contradiction to it if we have a peace policy. Another member of the family may have entered the employ of their once greatest political rival. These contradictions have to be reconciled some way, and the family and national unity have to be re-established some way, and how can it be done?

Well, a very touching unanimity is being built up now. But it is a unity that's directed against the welfare and peace of the people of America. And the more rapidly we shout this from the housetops of the country, the less painful and difficult is going to be the road which our country will have to

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travel in the stormy days ahead.

Yes, peace has been made between the economic royalists and their former chief critics. No more do we hear these glowing speeches which arouse the hope and enthusiasm of the masses of the people. Today the new hero, the new inspiration, the symbol of this unity is the figure of Alexander Hamilton who is edging out Thomas Jefferson. Thomas Jefferson made the great mistake of being carried away by enthusiasm for the French Revolution.

FOR A SOCIAL BUDGET INSTEAD OF A HUNGER BUDGET

These are the things that show the road that is being prepared for our country by the gentlemen who occupy positions of power. These are the things that are threatening disaster for our people. The people will be asked to pay; but that's nothing compared with what they will have to pay unless we begin to get the expression of an answer to these things. How can we let the gentlemen in the seats of power know what the people are thinking and feeling? At this moment, unfortunately, the only organized expression of this is the Communist Party, and we are still quite small, weak. We must build our Communist Party faster and stronger than ever, and build our *Daily Worker* more and more, stronger than ever —because the *Daily Worker* is just like air for us today; without it we cannot breathe. But we must not be content with that. We must organize, find ways of giving expression to that great broad mass—the majority of the people who are not with us as Communists yet, but are absolutely at one with us to stop the reactionary campaign in this country, to bring back a social budget instead of a hunger budget and to keep us out of war. The majority of the people are with us in that.

We can and we must go to the people of America. On this message we don't want the monopoly of the effective struggle for peace. We will go to the people with this message and will organize around it—with our Party—a great mass people's peace party, a social party, a party of a social budget instead of a hunger budget, a party of peace and prosperity for the people. That is what is needed now.

TO VOTE FOR PEACE, VOTE COMMUNIST

As a first little step towards that, I venture to think it might be a good idea to carry out this proposal to send me to Congress from the 14th Congressional District.

Some people have said that it is not practical. "What is the use of sending a Communist down there? He would only be a white crow, one among four or five hundred men. What could he do? It is not practical. If you want something practical, you must send a Democrat down there, or at least a Republican."

That is a great mistake, speaking in purely practical terms. If you send a Democrat, the Administration will say: "That district is safe; we don't need to worry about that district." If you send a Republican, they will say: "Oh, gee, now we

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must buy this guy off and make him good." But if you send a Communist, they will get all excited, will rush down and give you all the favors in the world in the 14th Congressional District.

The only way to get anything out of this Administration is not to be safe; they give only to those who fight them. Fight the Administration a little bit, and you will get something out of it. And quite aside from this immediate practical proposition, if you want to vote for peace, the only possible way to do that is to vote Communist.

Well, it is getting late. When I came up here I didn't know what I would talk about. I have been so busily engaged otherwise, I didn't have time to prepare my spech. But I think, after all, long speeches are not necessary any more; events and issues are beginning to stand out so that they can be seen by the masses; you don't have to give long-winded explanations any more; the people see these events and issues. They understand that what they need is a voice to express it for them, an organization to rally them.

The people are going to march forward—and to the people will belong the victory.

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THE "FOREIGN AGENT" FRAUD AND THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY

BY A. LANDY

I.

MORE than four months have elapsed since the outbreak of the war between Allied and German imperialism. The overwhelming majority of the American people are opposed to United States involvement in this imperalist war. But the American capitalists have other plans. Subordinating previous differences among themselves, they lost no time in uniting around a program to secure maximum profits from the war and to enhance the world position of American imperialism. The Administration hastened to disown all neutrality "in thought," and proceeded to revise the "Neutrality" Act in favor of Allied imperialism. The Dies Committee found no difficulty in adjusting its witch hunt to the new war program. Overnight, a war party was born.

From the behavior of the imperialist bourgeoisie, one would think America is already at war. They have left no doubt of their determination to crush all opposition to their war plans. The peace program of the Communist Party, in particular, has aroused monopoly capitalism to the point of hysteria. The Communist Party not only shares the peace sentiments of the American people, but it is taking the lead in organizing the masses in the struggle against involvement in the imperialist war. The Dies Committee and the Department of Justice joined forces to prevent this. The result has been an anti-Communist crusade in which lies, slander and demagogy threaten to put all previous records in the shade.

Twenty years ago America was disgraced by a similar witch hunt. Repressive legislation and wholesale persecution of militant workers during the war were followed by the notorious Palmer raids of 1919-20. But the Palmer raids were unleashed *after* the World War when American capital, enriched by enormous war profits, was preparing for an offensive against American labor. Moreover, the newly organized Communist Party was weak and without significant influence in the country. Today, the persecution of the Party is being conducted *at the beginning* of the second imperialist war, when world capitalism is in its greatest crisis and victorious socialism in the Soviet Union is already

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in transition to communism. Moreover, the desire of American finance capital to reap a golden harvest from the war, and involve the United States, has to contend with the determination of the American people to stay out of the imperialist slaughter; while the Communist Party, having become a mature political force, is no longer a negligible factor.

When French imperialism took advantage of the war to outlaw the Communist Party of France, it attempted to justify its action by branding the Communist Party as a "foreign agent." American capital has been quick to take a leaf out of Daladier's book. This device is not unfamiliar to American history. The only difference is that when it was first used, in the days when the Great French Revolution inspired the democratic masses of America, the revolutionary leaders of the democratic people were called "French agents," while today, when the Great Russian Socialist Revolution inspires progressive humanity throughout the world, they are called "Moscow agents."

Thus, the Federalists tried to prevent the birth of American democracy under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson by branding Jefferson's party as "French agents." John Adams did not even hesitate to call the Republican journalists defending Jefferson's cause "a group of foreign liars." While Chief Justice Ellsworth, in a charge to a Massachussetts grand jury, denounced "the French system-mongers, from the quintumvirate at Paris to the vice-president [Jefferson] and minority in Congress as apostles of atheism and anarchy, bloodshed and plunder."

In fact, when the Federalists gained control of both Houses of Congress during John Adams' Administration, they took advantage of current diplomatic difficulties between America and revolutionary France to pass the notorious Alien and Sedition laws. The purpose of these laws was to destroy the democratic mass movement headed by Thomas Jefferson. But no amount of repressive measures and charges of "French agents" could prevent the development of this movement or destroy the enthusiasm of the American people for the Great French Revolution.

John Adams himself informs us that in 1794 "ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia, day after day, threatened to drag Washington out of his house and effect a revolution in the government, or compel it to declare war in favor of the French Revolution and against England." (*Adams' Works*, Vol. X, pp. 47-48.) The people would not tolerate the yoke of the Alien and Sedition laws. And it may not be uninteresting to note that the same history that tells us about these laws also reminds us that they doomed the Federalist Party!

But the lessons of history have seldom deterred the enemies of the people. So the charge of "foreign agent" is trotted out again. The Dies Committee set the tone, but it was apparently too crude and transparent to deceive very many people. With the help of the First Lady of the Land, a more tactful version

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was introduced; the distinction was made between Americans who, "with the love of our land in their hearts," agitate their convictions and the agents of a foreign power. This was also more in harmony with former Attorney-General Murphy's formula of persecution by legal methods. At the same time it was acceptable to such reactionary organs as the *New York Herald Tribune*.

In any event, the refined version is even more demagogic than the original. For, while it appears to concede every American's right to his own convictions, actually it makes the test of these convictions dependent upon what monopoly capital and its government consider evidence of "the love of our land." And since this evidence is forthcoming only in relation to living issues, when the glittering generalities are stripped away, we find ourselves face to face with the real alternative: Either prove that you have "the love of our land" in your heart by supporting the war program of American finance capital and the Administration, or forever stand condemned as a foreign agent.

Furthermore, if it is only a "foreign agent" that is the object of attack, no question of civil liberties appears to be at stake; no domestic issues appear to be involved. Under the guise of purely administrative measures against what are by definition only the representatives of another country, you can proceed with impunity to cut out the heart of American democracy, the Bill of Rights. In this way, also, you avoid dealing with the Communist Party on the merits of its position. For in view of the fact that this position is confirmed daily by the whole experience of the American people and the inspiring achievements of the Land of Socialism, it would be impossible to assail the Communist Party on its merits without exposing the real issues involved.

Ordinarily, this little lesson in the anatomy of demagogy would be self-evident. But it seems that the artificial war hysteria of a coordinated press has left its mark on a number of people who normally pride themselves on possessing a rational temper. Listening to these "liberal" people, one would think it the height of political sophistication to become a victim of deception and fraud. The irony is that these people are not only taken in by the demagogy of finance capital, but even proclaim it as their own best thought.

II.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNISM

Two distortions are generally used to lend plausibility to the charge of "foreign agents": (1) The teachings of Marxism-Leninism are of foreign origin and as such are un-American; (2) Marxism-Leninism is opposed to democracy.

The first "argument" is palpably dishonest and demagogic. In essence it declares that the validity of an idea is determined by the geography of its origin. The practice of asking truth for a birth certificate was not invented by the Nazis. The ignorant and unscientific nonsense which insists that truth be measured by

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racial and geographic criteria is characteristic of decaying capitalism everywhere. In the days when capitalism was still progressive, it encouraged the scientific temper which knew no national boundaries. The best thought and scientific results, the inventions and accomplishments of one nation were taken over and adapted by other nations. Intellectual currents from every part of the world went into the making of the great discoveries that were recorded now in one country and now in another. The validity and value of such discoveries were not limited to the country in which they were made; if they were scientifically true, they were true everywhere. But in its epoch of decay, reactionary monopoly capitalism is anxious to have us forget all this.

The fact is that Marxism-Leninism gives us the knowledge of the laws of world capitalism and of the forces that make for a new system. Despite the concrete manifestations and historical modifications of these laws in each country, they hold true wherever the capitalist system prevails. Indeed, only a knowledge of these laws enables us to understand and deal with the specific features of our own national development. Moreover, the materialist conception of history and dialectic materialism constitute the indispensable basis for any scientific study of society without which labor cannot raise its struggle to the level of certainty or provide it with the scientific guidance which is the guarantee of victory. It was the application of these teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin that made possible the victory of the Russian toilers in the great Socialist Revolution. The inspiration and lessons of that victory are an asset which no amount of demagogy by monopoly capital will be able to keep from the toilers of America.

As might have been suspected, however, the prattle about the foreign origin of Marxism conveniently ignores America's own modest contribution to its development. Actually, America contributed towards the crystallization of modern socialism long before Russia ever heard of Karl Marx. Marx himself drew attention to this in 1847 when he declared: "Socialism and Communism did not originate in Germany, but in England, France and North America." (*Selected Essays*, p. 140, New York, 1926.)

As a matter of fact, the United States was famous as the home of numerous utopian communistic communities. Prominent English and continental travelers visited them while in the United States, and invariably included a description of them in their voluminous works. The socialist and communist movements of Europe found them a source of practical inspiration in the early nineteenth century.

The United States witnessed two main periods in the establishment of communistic communities: One in 1826, when Robert Owen, the great English utopian, founded his colony at New Harmony, Indiana; the second in 1842-46 when Horace Greeley, Alfred Brisbane, Charles A. Dana and others introduced Fourierism in the country. John Humphry Noyes, in his *History of American*

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Socialisms, mentions eleven communities founded in the 1826 period and thirty-four during the period of 1842-46. Altogether, according to an estimate by Richard T. Ely, over one hundred and possibly two hundred communistic villages had been founded in the United States. In 1886, at the time Ely wrote, he estimated seventy to eighty such villages still in existence in the country, with a membership of from six to seven thousand and property valued at about twenty-five or thirty millon dollars. (Ely, *The Labor Movement in America,* p. 10ff, New York, 1886.)

Thus, the United States with its communistic communities helped to encourage and inspire the very teachings that reactionary demagogues today condemn as un-American on the alleged ground of their foreign origin! When Engels first turned to communism in 1842-44, it was to America that he looked for living proof of its soundness. After his return from England in 1844, he undertook to refute the doubts concerning the practicality of communism which he met on every hand in Germany. To meet these doubts, he planned to write a pamphlet on communistic colonies in the United States. He delivered public lectures in his home city of Elberfeld on the successful establishment of communistic communities in America. In November, 1844, he wrote a popular description of them based upon a series of articles that had appeared in Robert Owen's *New Moral World.* Engels, of course, was still influenced by utopian socialism at this time. This explains why he used the communistic communities in America to demonstrate the workability of the communist principle, even though he understood that communism would be established as a result of the historical process and the class struggle. As the scientific theory of communism was worked out, Engels naturally discarded this reference to utopian communities. However, the important thing is the fact that communism in America contributed to the emergence of Marxism or scientific communism.

But it was not only America's communistic colonies that had a contribution to make. As Marx and Engels worked out their theories, they drew extensively on American experience. They had a detailed and thoroughly grounded knowledge of American conditions and American sources. Marx made full use of this knowledge in the preparation of *Capital,* which has educated entire generations of Marxists all over the world. He displayed the most scrupulous regard for the facts of American economic and social development. The study of these facts went into the warp and woof of his analysis of the laws of capitalism.

MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY

The second "argument" about Marxism and democracy is just as demagogic as the first. Oddly enough, it is advanced by people who have nothing but contempt for the Bill of Rights; but the cynicism of monopoly capital and its spokesmen knows no bounds. Listening to them, one would imagine that they were the exclusive guardians of democracy. Actually, the "well born

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and wealthy" were never fond of democracy; they were opposed to the Bill of Rights, and sought to restrict the influence and power of the people at every turn. If democratic rights were established, it was because the masses fought for them. That was true of the Great French Revolution, and it was true of our own Revolution of 1776.

James Madison, for example, argued that the new government should by no means be classed with the democratic republics of antiquity. "Democracies," he said, "have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention, have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property, and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths." (*The Federalist,* No. 10.) For that reason, he wanted means provided "to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens whose wisdom may best discern the true interests of their country." *The Federalist* (No. 63) actually declared that "the true distinction between these [ancient republics] and the American governments lies in the total exclusion of the people in their collective capacity from any share in the latter."

The history of modern democracy shows that the exploited masses were always the driving force in the struggle for democratic rights. In France, the democratic constitution of 1793 was introduced by the party that based itself on the proletarian and petty-bourgeois toiling masses. In overthrowing Robespierre who headed this party, the French bourgeoisie launched an attack against French democracy. In England, the democratic party which arose with the Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century found that only the working classes lent a ready ear to their democratic principles. In France and England, the countries in which communism and socialism had their origin, the most consistent democrats in the bourgeois-democratic revolution were the heralds of the new communist movement. That is why Marx said that "the first appearance of a really active communist party may be placed within the period of the middle class revolution, the moment when constitutional monarchy was abolished." (*Selected Essays,* p. 140.)

Marx and Engels themselves developed towards communism in the course of their participation in the democratic struggle in Germany. The Young Hegelians that supplied the personnel of the German democratic press in 1840-42, and especially of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* actually constituted a democratic party which carried on republican and democratic agitation and the Left wing of which rapidly developed into a German Communist Party under the leadership of Marx and Engels. French Communism and English Chartism, both of which antedated and inspired the scientific communism of Marx and Engels were also regarded by them as the logical development of modern democracy. It is no accident that in the 1840's those who stood for the abolition of private property

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were called the "pure democrats."

Both the theory and the history of communism show that it never regarded itself as something opposed to democracy. On the contrary, communism considered itself as the full realization of democracy, as its logical extension. Under the capitalism system, democracy at best is limited and restricted, because economic power, and with it, political power, is in the hands of the wealthy minority. The bourgeois-democratic state is really an instrument perpetuating the exploitation of wage labor by capital. At the same time the masses need and want democracy to defend their immediate interests and to develop their economic and political organizations in the struggle for a better world, a world free from exploitation. In order to prevent this, capital is constantly seeking to infringe upon the democratic rights of the people, a procedure which assumes over-riding proportions in the final stage of capitalism, imperialism. Full democracy becomes possible only with the abolition of capitalist private property, the source of the political domination of the wealthy minority. With the abolition of exploited and exploiting classes in society, the government of men will be replaced by the adminstration of things; the state, and with it democracy as a state form, will gradually disappear. Thus, as a movement to extend and enlarge the rights of the masses, to remove all restrictions upon their welfare, to transfer economic and political control from the hands of an exploiting minority to the hands of the exploited majority, communism is by its very nature democratic.

That is why Communists were the most consistent fighters for democracy right from the start, as a few facts from history will show. Marx and Engels forged their theory of scientific communism in the course of leading the democratic party in Germany. The new Communist Party that emerged simultaneously with the new theory, therefore, found itself a part of the international democratic movement from the day of its birth. Scientific communism, as distinct from pre-Marxist communism, made its appearance in 1845. On September 22, 1845, an international celebration was held in London on the occasion of the founding of the French republic in 1792. At this celebration an alliance of democrats of all nations was announced, including the Scientific Communists.

Engels described this celebration in an article which he wrote at the end of November-December, 1845, under the tile of "The Festival of Nations in London." In this article he took issue with those "True Socialists" in Germany who disclaimed any interest in internationalism and the French republic.

"The fraternization of the nations," Engels replied, "under the flag of *modern democracy* which arose from the French Revolution and developed in French Communism and English Chartism, shows that the masses and their representatives understand better than German theory what the hour demands . . . *Democracy, that is Communism*

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today. Any other democracy can only exist in the heads of theoretical visionaries who do not bother about real events, who do not consider that men and circumstances develop principles, but that principles develop themselves. Democracy has become a proletarian principle, the principle of the masses. The masses may be more or less clear concerning this solely correct meaning of democracy, but at least they all have the vague feeling of equal social rights in democracy. The democratic masses may certainly be counted among the Communist fighting forces. And when the proletarian parties of various nations unite, they are quite right in inscribing the word 'democracy' on their banners, for, with the exception of those who do not count, all European democrats in the year 1846 are more or less pure Communists." (Marx-Engels, *Gesamtausgabe,* Part 1, Vol. 4, pp. 457; 458-59.)

The essence of Engels' meaning is plain: It is the proletariat that is the main force in the struggle for democracy today, and the proletarian parties are the only consistently democratic parties. The struggle for the abolition of capitalism is a struggle for the extension of democracy, and the struggle for democracy, carried to its logical conclusion, leads inevitably to the struggle for communism. Hence all proletarian democrats are essentially Communists, and the Communists are all proletarian democrats. As a matter of fact, the most radical wing of the English Chartists organized into the Fraternal Democrats in 1846, established a link between the Chartists and the Communists. This link also connected the Marxists with the democratic forces of other countries, including America, in view of the fact that the Fraternal Democrats maintained ties with these forces from 1846 to 1853.

Two years after his article on the "Festival of Nations in London," in a polemic against Karl Heinzen, a bourgeois radical, Engels formulated the question in even plainer terms. Heinzen, he said, did not understand the relation of the people to democracy, he failed to analyze the composition of the people, the position of the various classes and parties. Heinzen therefore appealed to the small peasants, the class least able to take the initiative.

"For the past six hundred years," Engels stated, "every progressive movement had its origin in the cities, so much so that the independent democratic movements of the farm population (Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, Jacquerie, Peasant War) not only made a reactionary appearance but also were suppressed. The industrial proletariat of the cities has become the kernel of all modern democracy; the petty bourgeois and more so the peasants depend entirely upon its initiative. The French Revolution of 1789 and the most recent history of England, France and the Eastern states of America demonstrate this." (Marx-Engels, "The Communists and Karl Heinzen," *Gesamtausgabe,* Part I, Vol. 6, pp. 285-86, October 3, 1847.)

Earlier, in September, 1847, the first issue of the *Communist Journal,* which was to be issued in London, had occasion to take Heinzen to task for his distortion of the Communist position on democracy.

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"Either Karl Heinzen is completely ignorant of the meaning of Communism," the *Journal* declared, "or he has allowed his personal antagonism to certain Communists to prejudice his judgment of a party which stands in the front ranks of the armies fighting for democracy."

In 1848, in the official *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* Marx and Engels summarized the position of the Communists in a sentence: ". . . The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, *to win the battle of democracy.*"

The facts speak for themselves. In its origin, in its practical activities, in its political relations and in its conceptions, Marxism has stood and continues to stand for the maintenance and extension of democracy, for the proletarian leadership of the democratic masses, for victory in the battle for democracy by the establishment of socialism.

III.

WHAT LENIN AND STALIN TEACH US

Today, the battle for democracy has entered a new stage in the world. World capitalism is in the greatest crisis of its history. The second imperialist war is imposing a single alternative on humanity: annihilation or socialism. In such a situation, there is nothing that dying capitalism fears more than the world fortress of socialism, the Soviet Union. Because the Soviet Union has won "the battle for democracy," inspiring the toilers of the world with confidence in their own final victory and teaching them how to defeat the butchers of the people, and because of the powerful influence of its peace policy in world affairs, the imperialist bourgeoisie has unleashed the most gigantic anti-Soviet incitement in twenty-two years. Vainly they hope to save themselves from the wrath of the people and prolong the existence of their dying system by destroying the living example of the new socialist world and the greatest source of inspiration to the oppressed and exploited everywhere.

The American bourgeoisie, headed by the Roosevelt Administration, is not only doing everything to draw America into the imperialist war, but is competing for first place in this anti-Soviet campaign. The warmongers are particularly incensed and "morally outraged" because the Soviet Government has called for peace. This call for peace is thoroughly in accord with the desire of the overwhelming majority of the American people. But this does not prevent the warmongers from trying to discredit anyone who advocates peace and opposes United States involvement in the imperialist war as a "Moscow agent." It is because Earl Browder is the most powerful spokesman for peace in America that he and the Communist Party which he leads are persecuted and attacked under the demagogic pretext of being agents of the Soviet Government.

The enemies of the people know very well that the Communist Party is an American party in every respect. They know that one of the outstanding contributions of Earl

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Browder to the Communist Party and to American political life, particularly during the past five years, has been his masterful work in teaching us to appreciate and work in the spirit of America's best traditions. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin have done more than anything else to help American Communists understand and value the history and traditions of their country, and to employ America's past in solving the problems of the present.

The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* is the best answer to those who would distort the relation of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin to the United States. The six main lessons taught by the history of the Bolsheviks are in full harmony with our own experience and our own best revolutionary, democratic traditions.

Take the democratic tradition, for example. The common people are the heart and soul of democracy. And what do Lenin and Stalin teach us with regard to the common people? They teach us to have faith in the masses, to identify ourselves with them, to learn from them and to fight for their interests with self-sacrificing devotion and unyielding determination. What other political theory, what other movement is so warmly attached to the people, so democratic and so completely a people's movement? Certainly such a relationship to the people is not an un-American or un-democratic quality.

Or take another feature of Lenin's and Stalin's teachings. Listening to the volcanic eruptions of the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet press one might believe that these teachings imposed a lot of dogmas and purely Russian practices on people. Actually, the very nature of Marxism-Leninism makes such a thing impossible. The distinguishing quality of Lenin and Stalin and one of their most outstanding contributions as Marxists is their insistence on the principle of historical *concreteness,* which requires that accouut be taken of the *specific features* of each country's development. This makes it obligatory to avoid glittering analogies and to base our judgments and policies on the most painstaking and precise study of the concrete situation in any given country, while taking full advantage of the experience of the labor movement and people's struggles everywhere else. This approach is inherent in the very nature of Marxism as a science, making it a guide to action and not a dogma; and it is the merit of Lenin and Stalin that they mastered and taught this as no other Marxists since the days of Marx and Engels. There is certainly nothing un-American about this. Indeed, if American Communists have learned to move freely and with ease through the complexities of our political life, it is because they have begun to master the spirit and meaning of Lenin's and Stalin's teachings.

Finally, take a quality that is so characteristic of Lenin and Stalin—their modesty. After centuries of striving for liberation from oppression and exploitation, the Russian working class, under the leadership

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of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, were the first to succeed, the first to establish a socialist society. This was a colossal achievement of incalculable significance to the whole world. And yet, while fully appreciating the importance of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Stalin displayed the utmost modesty towards it. From the very outset they insisted that the Western countries, once liberated from the yoke of capitalism, would do much better than the backward, undeveloped Russia inherited from the tsar. They were eager to learn from the West and take over its best technical and cultural achievements. And this trait was no accident; it was inherent in their Marxist principles and teachings. Lenin and Stalin raised modesty to the level of a political principle and transformed it into a lever for the victory of the people.

The fifth of the six lessons cited in the *History of C.P.S.U.* declares:

"The history of the Party further teaches us that a party cannot perform its role as leader of the working class if, carried away by success, it begins to grow conceited, ceases to observe the defects of its work, and fears to acknowledge its mistakes and frankly and honestly to correct them in good time.

"A party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time.

"A party perishes if it conceals its mistakes, if it glosses over sore problems, if it covers up its shortcomings by pretending that all is well, if it is intolerant of criticism and self-criticism, if it gives way to self-complacency and vainglory and if it rests on its laurels." (*History of the C.P.S.U.*, p. 361.)

Certainly, to learn from Lenin and Stalin how to become a party of such a calibre is not alien to the spirit or interests of the American toilers.

All the lies and slanders in the world will not conceal the truth. The persecution of the Communist Party will serve only to arouse the masses to the great danger that threatens them from the side of the warmongers. The battle for democracy will continue.

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FORGING THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY IN CUBA

BY BLAS ROCA

(General Secretary, Communist Party of Cuba and Delegate to the Constituent Assembly)

THE POLITICAL situation in Cuba is extremely complex and changeable. To foreign observers, and even to native Cubans acquainted with its details, a correct and comprehensive interpretation of this situation is difficult.

Honest elections were held in Cuba on November 15 to form a Constituent Assembly. The results were characterized by the Communist Party of Cuba as a great popular victory. Nevertheless, as composed today, the Assembly is obstructing the forward march of the popular movement.

To explain this contradiction, we must examine the analysis of the November elections, rendered by the National Committee of the Revolutionary Union-Communist Party, the united party formed by the coalition of the Revolutionary Union Party and the Communist Party. The analysis is here given *in extenso:*

EVALUATION OF ELECTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

"The recent elections for the Constituent Assembly are another link in the chain of the people's victories.

"The fact that elections were held is a great achievement; but their results, as stressed by Colonel Batista, constitute a great popular victory.

"Despite all the political confusion of the moment and all the trickery employed by the reactionaries, the majority of the people expressed themselves through the ballot-box in favor of progress, security, and the defense of national interests.

"Behind the smokescreen of 'opposition vs. government,' the followers of Menocal* and the A.B.C.**

* Mario Garcia Menocal, President of Cuba from 1913 to 1921, is the leader of the Democratic Republican Party (*Partido Democrata Republicano*). This party developed quite recently out of the old, traditional Conservative Party (*Partido Conservador*), organized about 1910. The Conservative Party changed its name to United National Democratic Party (*Conjunto Nacional Democratico*) in 1934. At the end of 1938 Menocal and Santiago Verdeja split the party into two groups. Menocal and the conservative leadership withdrew with the majority of the membership and organized the Democratic Republican Party. [All footnotes are by the Editors.]

** The A.B.C., stemming from the terrorist organization called by that name, is a fascist party. Its principal leader is Joaquin Martinez Saenz, who was secretary of the Treasury when the A.B.C. participated in the ultra-reactionary Mendieta Government in 1934. The initials do not stand for any name.

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are trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the people, by camouflaging the progressive and democratic outcome of the elections. They are trying to darken and conceal the fundamental aspects of the problem.

"The real truth is that in the elections for the Constituent Assembly, the masses did not go to vote for or against the Government; they went to the polls to vote for candidates who held out democratic promises of this or that type of constitution for Cuba. They went to the polls to vote for those who, as they thought, would be capable of interpreting their desire that the new Magna Charta should embrace the principles of social improvement and progress.

"The election results, it would seem, are disliked by the enemies of the people, by the reactionary representatives of anti-Cuban interests, identified as such by the people.

"The Menocal and 'new' A.B.C. parties which, in their joint leadership, are identified with everything reactionary and anti-popular, have earned the cordial disfavor of the voters of the whole nation.

"The A.B.C. was known as a pro-fascist party, with its green shirts, and as the creator of the Courts of Urgency.* The people also know the A.B.C. to be aristocratic and anti-Negro, as well as the Mediation agents* and provocateurs for Mr. Sumner Welles and the imperialist bankers with whom they organized the conspiracy against the Revolutionary movement of September.** This party received a minimum number of votes, even though all the agencies of reaction were there to support it.

"The A.B.C. received large sums of money from Spanish merchants and from bankers. The management of the sugar mills intimidated the workers in order to get votes for their candidates. Some Chambers of Commerce and other employers' institutions distributed circulars in support of such candidates. Even Catholic papers and some Catholic priests personally propagandized in their behalf. Notwithstanding all this, the A.B.C. received only 64,000 votes in the entire country. Because of the so-called proportional representation system these votes allowed them four delegates to the Constituent Assembly.

"The so-called Democratic-Republican Party of Menocal, traditional chieftain of the native Right-wingers, is reactionary, openly Negro-hating, and the defender of the feudal land-robbers; it is linked to the land-sharks and Falangis-

* On the instigation of the A.B.C. during the Mendieta regime, the Courts of Urgency were created on the fascist model in 1934 to deal drastically with a wave of successful strikes. Trials before these courts were conducted without jury, defense counsel, or witnesses, before a single judge, who had unlimited power of sentence and from whom there was no appeal. Recently these courts have been superseded by regular civil courts regulated by the new, progressive legal Code of Social Defense.

* To Cubans, "Mediation" refers specifically to the attempt of Mr. Sumner Welles and the State Department of the U.S.A., in April, 1933, to reach an agreement between the ultra-reactionary dictator Machado and his opponents that would be advantageous to American imperialism.

** This refers to the September Revolution, or the Sergeants' Revolt of 1933, in which Batista came to power. On November 8 of the same year the A.B.C. organized an unsuccessful *putsch* against the revolutionary government.

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tas.* Throughout his career Menocal has been very closely linked with American imperialist interests. He was president of Cuba during the first imperialist World War and was largely responsible for dragging Cuba into assisting Wall Street's war. In spite of its economic strength this party could not get as many votes as, for instance, the Liberal Party.

"Menocal's party received 170,687 votes, while the other traditional Party, the Liberal Party, which is more democratic in tendency, got 182,046 votes.

"In this way, reactionaries and stubborn Rightists polled, with considerable luck, enough votes to obtain seats for nineteen delegates in the Constitutional Assembly.

"The parties that can be termed Centrist, the Liberal, Nationalist, and United National Democratic Parties, were politically oriented to the progressive policy of Colonel Batista. In spite of their weaknesses and their support of reactionary elements who did not offer the masses any garantees of living up to their election platform, and in spite of certain sabotage of important measures demanded by public opinion and strongly favored by Colonel Batista, these parties received a total of 375,679 votes. These votes represent a majority of 148,233 votes over the combined Menocal and A.B.C. votes.

"These parties of the Center will have twenty-eight delegates in the Assembly, nine more than the parties of the extreme Right.

"The Revolutionary Union-Communist Party and the parties of revolutionary origin or with a revolutionary past—Cuban Revolutionary Party (Autentico)* and National Revolutionary Party (Realista),** parties which consider themselves of the Left (though some of them, such as the Autentico, are closer to the Right)—received a total of 344,051. This vote represents a decisive majority of 116,605 over the Right, and only 31,628 less than the votes of the Center.

"Thus we can clearly see the voters' tendency to insure for themselves, through the delegates to the Constituent Assembly, a Constitution that will fulfil their democratic and progressive aims toward social improvement and other advances.

"Notwithstanding the confusion of the moment, the votes of the Autenticos—whether this party opposes or supports the government—cannot be added either to the conservative votes of Menocal or to the fascist votes of the A.B.C., because the followers of Grau San Martin cast their votes with the hope that their party would live up to the slogan of 'Socialism, Anti-Imperialism and Nationalism.'

* Falangistas are members of the Spanish Falange (*Falanga Espanola*), Cuban branch of the Spanish fascist organization, one of the parties supporting Franco and the fascist invaders of Spain. Most of its members in Cuba are Spanish and Cuban merchants and employees intimidated by them into joining. The party was ordered dissolved by the present Cuban government in 1939.

* Autentico is the name by which the Cuban Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionario Cubano*) is known. The party is led by Ramon Grau San Martin.

** Realista is the name given to the National Revolutionary Party (*Partido Nacional Revolucionario*), which arose from a split in the Autentico Party. Realista is led by Sergio Garbo, a newspaperman and publisher.

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"If we consider the results of the elections, *and if the elected delegates wish loyally to interpret the will of those whom they represent,* the Constitution to be voted on must be progressive and democratic, a Constitution that will guarantee national liberation and improvements in the conditions of the people.

"The delegates of the Center parties are pledged to vote for a progressive Constitution. They must be faithful to their platform declarations: 'The State has the power to govern and regulate the economy of the Republic.' 'The Republic shall not recognize personal jurisdiction or privilege; neither shall it permit discrimination because of sex, race, religion, color, class or for any other reason; it shall guarantee absolute equality of opportunity in the private as well as in the public school system, and in manual and intellectual work.' 'The state shall regulate the use, extension, and exploitation of the land on the basis that the agrarian economy of the Republic of Cuba shall consist of agrarian units that permit the rationalization of production and that the land in rural areas be distributed in such a way that its productivity shall be sufficient to guarantee a decent life for the peasant family.'

"What will the Autentico delegates do? Will they vote for the Constitution of 1901* as the program of Menocal slyly proposes? Will they vote to continue covering up racial discrimination with stupid or innocent excuses? Will they vote against the distribution of land to the peasants? Will they vote, as Menocal proposes, against the social rights of the workers, against the right to organize, strike and boycott?

"Will they vote against their own Constitutional Program and against their Program of 1934* and align themselves with the reactionary program of Menocal and the A.B.C.?

"It is not easy to believe that the Autentico delegates can do that!

"They may intend to do so, using the argument that alone they lack the votes to carry out their program, or the pretext that unity in the Constituent Assembly is necessary to 'defeat the government.'

"Both of these arguments are specious. The first is false, because, as we have shown above, there are enough progressive delegates in the Assembly to approve a Constitution approximating the general lines of the Autentico program of 1934. If the Autentico delegates mean to defend the principles of that program, placing themselves in an open anti-imperialist, revolutionary, popular, and soundly Nationalist position, they will have the unreserved support of the delegates of the Revolutionary Union - Communist Party. Therefore, if the Autentico delegates want to fight for their program, they do not need to deliver themselves into the hands of

* The Constitution of 1901 was the first Constitution of the Republic of Cuba. It contained the infamous Platt Amendment foisted upon the Cuban people by Wall Street imperialism.

* The Program of 1934, under the slogan, "Socialism, Anti-Imperialism, and Nationalism," set forth an extensive program of progressive legislation to be advocated by the Autenticos under Grau San Martin's leadership. He has recently soft-pedalled the Program because of his alliance with the reactionaries of the "Pact of the Four."

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the A.B.C. and Menocal, and swell the votes of reaction and fascism in the Assembly.

"The second argument is also false, because the Constituent Assembly is not going to draft laws in favor of or against the government. The Constituent Assembly has a higher, more historic and patriotic function to perform.

"The Assembly has the function, entrusted to it by the people, of writing a Constitution that will guarantee that all the ensuing governments shall operate through just administrations.

"The Constitution of the Republic cannot be written according to the momentary convenience of groups contending for power. The Constitution must be written according to the needs and general welfare of the people of the entire country."

* * *

THE "PACT OF THE FOUR"

Starting from this general resumé of the results of the November elections, it will be easier to understand the situation today.

What the aforesaid report foreshadowed, has taken place. The Autentico delegates have concluded a political alliance with Menocal, the A.B.C., and Miguel Mariano Gomez,* known as the "Pact of the Four." The Autenticos are trying to divert attention from the problem of the Constituent Assembly toward that of opposition to the government; they are attempting to use the Constituent Assembly as a stepping stone in personal aspirations for power.

Thus, on December 15 they launched the slogan, "Constituent Assembly first, general elections later."

This slogan is demagogic and is destined to sidetrack the Constituent Assembly, to utilize the Assembly for a *coup d' état*, or to extend the tenure of those members of the Congress whose terms have nearly expired.

The Act that called for election of the Constituent Assembly provides that general elections be held on February 28, 1940, to elect one-half of the Congress, the President of the Republic, as well as Mayors and Provincial Governors whose terms expire between the first days of April and May 20.

These general elections are opposed by the parties of the "Pact of the Four." They offer the excuse that such elections should be held *after* the Constituent Assembly finished the work for which it was elected.

These parties are trying to do the following:

First: To distract the attention of the masses from the fundamental issues which the Assembly must consider.

Second: To utilize the Assembly to disband the Congress and to proceed to a totalitarian election of a new government, including 36 Senators and 162 Congressmen. This might lead, perhaps, to a reactionary Provisional Government.

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* Miguel Mariano Gomez was President of Cuba from May to December, 1936, when he was impeached for an alleged interference with legislative action of Congress. He is the leader of the Republican Action Party (*Partido Accion Republicano*).

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To obtain their objective, the parties of the "Pact of the Four" decided to abstain from participating in the general elections, and refused to nominate candidates according to law.

This abstention from the elections provoked a movement called "The Round Table" or meetings of the heads of all the political parties with the President of the Republic and the retired Colonel Batista, nominated for President by five political parties, to arrive at some formula for political conciliation.

The stubbornness of the parties of the "Pact of the Four" brought an end to "The Round Table" deliberations after several meetings, and all possibilities of conciliation disappeared.

The action of "The Four" in abstaining from participation in the elections today leaves but two alternatives: First, to provoke a condition of violence and disorder that may facilitate the realization of a *putsch*. Second, to promote American imperialist intervention, through diplomatic or economic channels, which has thus far been tried by the reactionary parties with negative results.

Neither of these alternatives has any possibility of success.

The people of Cuba are not disposed to support a campaign of violence, of bombings and attempts on the lives of individuals. Such campaigns carry no weight with the people today, nor will the masses tolerate another Mediation *a la Welles* which is rendered difficult by the entire international situation, by the militant mood of the masses in the United States, and by the role that the United States seeks to play in European events.

THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party has energetically opposed all attempts to dissolve the Congress, for the following reasons:

First: the very raising of the question hinders the Constituent Assembly from fulfilling its chief function of laying down with unchallengeable authority the rights of the Cuban people, such as regulation of the economy by the state; distribution of land to the peasants; unemployment insurance; equality for Negroes and for women; the right to strike, boycott, and other working class and popular liberties.

Second: The demand for dissolution cannot be carried out by the method of abstaining from elections. Even if dissolution were theoretically correct at one time, it is reactionary in the present situation. Support of such an impossible demand disorganizes the popular forces. It prevents the masses—as happened in 1936 and 1938, when the Autenticos boycotted the elections—from utilizing to the fullest extent the possibilities of the elections to further the desired measures.

Third: It tends to divide the popular masses on secondary questions, making them forget the important and fundamental issues which they should expect the Constituent Assembly to consider.

Fourth: It obscures the immediate problem of the struggle for a progressive platform. It tends to iso-

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late Colonel Batista and therefore works against victory for the people.

At the same time, the Communist Party favored the postponement of the general election for a reasonable period in order to give the provincial and municipal conventions of all the parties that had intended to abstain enough time to file their nominations. This was achieved through an Act of Congress postponing the general election to March 28 and gave additional facilities for all parties to participate.

MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES BY THE SOCIALIST-DEMOCRATIC COALITION

Meanwhile, the Socialist-Democratic coalition, formed by the Liberal Party, Nationalist Union Party, United National Democratic Party, Revolutionary Union-Communist Party, and National Revolutionary Party (Realista) has already nominated Colonel Batista as Presidential candidate. Among nineteen Senatorial candidates of the coalition, two are from the Revolutionary Union-Communist Party. They are Juan Marinello and Joaquin Ordoqui.

Colonel Batista made public the platform which serves as a basis for the coalition, and which is made concrete in the following slogan: "Democracy, Social Jusice and Defense of the National Economy." Colonel Batista is also pledged to the maintenance of strict neutrality in the present war.

With the failure of the Round Table and efforts at conciliation, and with the reactionary leaders' persistence in abstention from elections, what are the perspectives of the Cuban political situation?

In the event the "Pact of the Four" keeps its parties united, which is not probable, it may seek to take advantage of its small majority in the Constituent Assembly to attempt a *coup d'état* by declaring the Congress dissolved and suspending the general election.

The likelihood of this action depends on many factors. The chief one is the date for the opening of the Assembly, which will be deferred to give the courts time to examine the appeals against certain elected delegates.

In the second place, if the policy of abstention from elections is broken by municipal and provincial conventions, not only will the policy lose moral influence, but it will also lead to division on various issues among the delegates of the "Pact of the Four" in the Constituent Assembly.

In the third place, united action of 35 of the 76 delegates composing the Constituent Assembly, action basing itself on a large mobilization of masses in the streets, can thwart the plans of "the Four."

It is difficult to foresee in Cuba a situation in which the "Pact of the Four" could stage a *coup d'état* through the Constituent Assembly.

On the contrary, the active mobilization of the masses behind the political demands of the Socialist-Democratic coalition; the ever increasing difficulties of Menocal and Grau San Martin in maintaining unity; the resistance of the masses, especially those behind the Autenticos, to anything like abstention

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and reactionary violence; the forward march of the trade union movement (as in the outstanding victories of the street-car workers and the Cuban Electric Power Company workers) are favorable conditions for the defeat of reaction and for a normal continuation of the electoral process. This process will surely lead to the election of Colonel Batista as President of the Republic.

If the delegates of reaction, however, are able to utilize those delegates elected by the Autenticos to provoke a situation of reactionary violence, conducted mainly against the popular interests, the masses in the streets will defeat the reactionaries and win directly their own rights, the rights of the people.

This struggle will end, necessarily, with the victory of democracy, improvement of the conditions of the people, and the defense of the national economy.

Cuba is struggling for these demands. Cuba is struggling to keep out of the present imperialist war, and she *will* keep out.

The outlook is favorable for a complete victory.

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THE POWER OF STALINIST PREDICTION

BY M. MITIN

FUNDAMENTAL to science is the task of predicting the future on the basis of the study of the past and present. Such prediction is a necessary condition for action that will change the world. In that sense Marxist-Leninist theory, with its all-powerful method of materialist dialectics, is a veritable peak in the scientific achievements of humanity.

"Miraculous prophecy is a myth; but scientific prophecy is a fact," wrote Lenin in connection with a concrete instance of scientific prediction made by Engels as early as 1887 in regard to the future world war and its possible consequences.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is invincible because it makes possible the penetration into the very depths of the historic process, and the perception of the laws of its development to the very end.

"The perspicacity of genius, the ability to grasp rapidly and reach into the inner meaning of approaching events is that very quality of Lenin which helped him to set forth the correct strategy and clear-cut line of action at the turns of the revolutionary movement." (Stalin.)

Comrade Stalin emphasizes that this quality of Lenin manifested itself particularly fully and sharply at the turning points of the Revolution.

"In the days of revolutionary turns, he literally blossomed out, became clairvoyant, predicted the movements of classes and the probable zigzags of the revolution, seeing them as on an outstretched palm. . . . Hence the 'remarkable' *clarity* of the tactical slogans and the 'breath-taking' *daring* of the revolutionary plans of Lenin."

Lenin's characteristics are fully applicable to Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin studies historical events all-sidedly, taking into account all inter-connections and media, and penetrating into the deepest reasons for these events. He always examines a subject in terms of its development, knowing how to study any phenomenon in embryo, seeing the direction and manner of its growth. To Comrade Stalin belongs the remarkable statement: that in order to guide, it is necessary to foresee. The most complicated intertwining of historical events, the most ramified net of social phenomena unfold vividly un-

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der the rays of the Stalinist analysis.

In order to serve as the vanguard of the working class, in order to lead in the struggle of the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist Party know how to look into the future, must know "how and where the classes are moving in the present . . . how and where they will move in the near future." (Stalin.)

Scientific leadership in the struggle for communism is impossible without a clear prospective and clear-cut goal, without knowledge of the conditions of the struggle and conditions for victory. Comrade Stalin is especially emphatic in condemning hit-or-miss activity and the tendency to swim with the current. He shows the danger lurking in such aimless activity. It carries with it the danger of being overcome with inertia, of degenerating, of becoming a philistine, and in the long run of becoming a puppet in the hands of the enemy.

In order to predict scientifically, Comrade Stalin points out, one must know how to rely on the experience of the masses and to evaluate this experience scientifically.

"To foresee, comrades, is not always easy. It is one thing when, for instance, a dozen leading comrades look for and notice shortcomings in our work, while the working masses either do not wish or are unable to seek out or notice the shortcomings. Consequently there is every chance that one will surely miss something, not notice everything. It is a different matter, when together with the dozen leading comrades, hundreds of thousands and millions of workers look for and notice shortcomings in our work and expose our mistakes, harnessing themselves in the common task of charting and building paths for improving our work." (Stalin.)

II.

Fifteen years ago, on November 7, 1924, Comrade Stalin wrote the following lines in the Red Book of the workers of the Dynamo factory:

"I wish for the workers of Dynamo, as well as the workers of all Russia, that industry shall grow, that the number of proletarians in Russia shall rise in the near future to twenty or thirty millions, that the collective shall develop and be subordinate to individual farming, that highly developed industry and collective farming shall finally merge the proletarians of the factories and the toilers of the soil into a single socialist army."

To understand the full significance of this remarkable prediction, one must visualize the historical setting of the year 1924.

The end of the reconstruction period was approaching. Through the New Economic Policy our Party had achieved considerable success in all fields of the national economy. Socialist industry was developing. The working class had grown numerically. Agriculture was on the up-grade though slowly.

Our industry, though developing along the socialist path, nevertheless had not, if we consider heavy industry, made much headway. At

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that time the socialist sector of our industry comprised only about 80 per cent of the total, while the capitalist sector comprised no less than 20 per cent.

In regard to social composition, agriculture then represented an endless ocean of individual farming, with an altogether backward, primitive technique. The collective and state farmers were but isolated, scarcely noticeable islands in this ocean.

The class of landlords had already been liquidated, but the class of agricultural capitalists, the kulak class, was still quite strong. Of the national turnover of goods, 50 to 60 per cent was accounted for by the socialist sector, and the rest by private merchants and speculators.

This was the historic setting for Comrade Stalin's inspired words of greeting to the workers of Dynamo!

Each word of this remarkable prediction is saturated with deep meaning. Here is contained, in essence, the Stalinist plan for industrialization of our country and the plan for collectivization of agriculture.

This prediction, so remarkable for its scientific power, is permeated with Leninist consistency and purposefulness. This is indeed a thrust into the future based on an analysis of the present.

The industrialization of our country belongs among the greatest events in the history of humanity. Precisely on the path of socialist industrialization did our country throw off the vestments of age-old backwardness and move forward into the ranks of the most advanced countries, technologically and economically.

The classes formerly dominant in Russia, the landlords and capitalists, not only proved themselves unable to lead our country out of its age-old backwardness; they were not even able to face this task in earnest. This problem could be dealt with only by the workers and peasants after the victory of the socialist revolution.

Socialist industrialization of the country is an event of world-historic significance also because it shows what can be done—moreover, in a very short period—by a liberated people under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist Party. Only a party armed with the power of a clear goal and perspective, imbued with a profound understanding of the interconnection of historic events, could arouse such enthusiasm for toil among the masses, and relentlessly crush all the enemies of socialism and of the Soviet People, as was done by our Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. Only a party which puts into practice, consistently and to the very end, the Leninist theory of socialist revolution, armed with Lenin's immortal teaching of the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country, could develop the perspective of our advance with such power and concreteness in the few lines of greeting to the Dynamo workers.

Freedom is cognized necessity, said Marx and Engels. The words of Comrade Stalin express in concrete terms the cognition of the necessity of the victory of socialism in our country.

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In 1924 it could only be a wish that in our fatherland the number of workers should reach twenty to thirty million. But in 1939, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin was able to state that the number of workers and employees of the U.S.S.R. had reached twenty-eight million!

The most striking example of scientific prediction is furnished in the Stalinist Five-Year Plans—the profoundly conceived plans of great undertakings which radically transformed our fatherland.

The stupendous growth of mighty socialist industry and the flourishing of collective farming in the village have now finally fused the workers and peasants into a single monolithic family of the Soviet peoples, into a single socialist army of toil. The moral and political unity of the Soviet people now constitutes a remarkable fortress of socialism. It took the historically brief period of fifteen years for Stalin's prediction to be realized in life.

III.

Ten years ago, on November 7, 1929, the day of the twelfth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade Stalin published his article, "A Year of Great Change." This article was written at the turning point in the life of the U.S.S.R.

"The past year," said Comrade Stalin, "witnessed a great change on every front of socialist development. The change expressed itself, and is still expressing itself, in a determined drive of socialism against the capitalist elements in town and country." ("A Year of Great Change," *Leninism,* Vol. II.)

The "great change" was not reached by aimless motion. It was reached as a result of directing the general line of the Party towards strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture. The "great change" was a striking manifestation of the Leninist-Stalinist line of victory for socialism in our country. Victorious socialism became possible because the Party smashed the bourgeoisie and exploded the traitorous "theory" of the impossibility of the victory of socialism in our country.

Overcoming resistance by the enemies of Bolshevism and proletarian dictatorship, the despicable Trotskyites and Bukharinites, who fought by every means against the building of socialism in our country, the Party achieved decisive success in 1929.

Comrade Stalin singles out three basic points, in relation to which he characterizes the achievements of this remarkable year: productivity of labor, industrial development, and development of agriculture.

A decisive turn in the productivity of labor was achieved with the unfolding of creative initiative and enthusiasm among the countless millions of the working class.

This gave evidence of the

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strength of socialism. It proved that in labor productivity—the basic, most essential element for the victory of the new social order—socialism had already demonstrated its power as compared to capitalism.

By the end of 1929 the problem of accumulation for the expansion of heavy industry was in the main solved. The rate of development of industries producing means of production was accelerated and the prerequisites created for developing our metal resources and metal industries.

The problem of accumulation was one of the most difficult problems with which our country was confronted while marching forward under the unfurled banner of socialist industrialization. All the ways and means of accumulation to which capitalist countries had resorted to achieve their industrialization were closed to us. Vast sums, essential for the creation of large socialist industries in fuel, metallurgy, machine manufacturing, chemicals and power plants, had to be found within the country, drawn from the mighty creative forces of workers and peasants, marching under the leadership of the Communist Party.

These sums were found. In fact, the optimal version of the Five-Year Plan, which seemed "fantastic" and "utopian" to the "learned" and other lackeys of capitalism, was already exceeded during the first year of the Plan and became as Comrade Stalin said, the minimal version of the Five-Year Plan.

The next important phenomenon singled out in the article of Comrade Stalin is the basic turn which took place in the development of our agriculture. The Party of Lenin-Stalin succeeded in converting the basic mass of the peasantry from the path of capitalist development to the new path of socialist development.

Comrade Stalin wrote:

"The new and decisive element in the present kolkhoz movement is the fact that peasants are joining the collective farms, not in scattered groups, as was formerly the case, but in entire villages, counties, districts and even provinces. What does this mean? It means that *the middle peasantry* is joining the collective farms. This is the essence of that basic turn in the development of agriculture which constitutes the most important achievement of the Soviet power during the past year."

In this article Comrade Stalin has shown with singular force the advantages of large-scale socialist agriculture under the dictatorship of the proletariat as compared to the position and development of agriculture under capitalism.

"There, under capitalism," he wrote, "one cannot organize a large grain factory without purchasing several plots of land or without paying absolute ground rent, which cannot fail to burden production with enormous expenses, because of the private property in land. In our country, on the contrary, there exists neither absolute ground rent nor the buying and selling of land, which cannot but create favorable conditions for the development of

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large grain farming, because we have no private property in land. There, with the capitalists, large grain farms have as their objective the obtaining of maximum profits, or in any case the obtaining of such profits as would correspond to the so-called average rate of profit, without which, generally speaking, capital has no interest in becoming involved in the business of organizing a grain economy. With us, on the contrary, large grain economies are at the same time state economies and do not need for their development either maximum profits or an average rate of profit, but can limit themselves to minimum profits, and occasionally may get along without any profit, which also creates favorable conditions for the development of large grain economies."

At the same time Comrade Stalin pointed out that "our young, large socialist agriculture (kolkhoz and sovkhoz*) has a great future" and that "it will exhibit miracles of growth."

The past decade has fully justified the correctness of such an appraisal of the prospects of collective-farm and state-farm agriculture. During this period we have seen veritable miracles in the growth of the collective farm system.

Comrade Stalin further stated:

"If the development of the collective farming and state farming will proceed at an accelerated pace, there is no reason to doubt that our country will in about three years become one of the richest countries in the world in grain production, if not *the* richest."

This remarkable prediction of Comrade Stalin has also been vindicated completely and fully. Our country is now the richest grain-producing country in the world.

We produce now 31 per cent of the world's wheat, 56 per cent of the rye, 24 per cent of the barley, 31 per cent of the oats, 80 per cent of the peas and the lentils. In crop yield the U.S.S.R. has already surpassed the U.S.A. and Canada; in addition, while in these countries there is apparent a tendency towards declining crop yields, with us the yield is steadily increasing.

Now the U.S.S.R. occupies first place in the world, not only in the absolute size of grain crops, but also in the per capita production of such crops.

IV.

The decisions of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are a model of Bolshevik leadership, of scientific prediction. With singular depth and foresight, Comrade Stalin, in his report to the Congress in March, 1939, characterized the new period into which the U.S.S.R. is entering.

Two tasks were set forth at the Congress as decisive for the entire historical period of transition from socialism to communism: the task of economic competition with capitalism and the task of communist education of the masses.

The first of these emerges from

* Collective farms and state farms—*The Editor.*

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the contradictions still extant in the U.S.S.R. between the level of development of productive forces attained and the task of transition to communism. In order to create the necessary prerequisites for the realization of the communist principle of distribution, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," it is necessary to develop all-sidedly the productive forces of our fatherland, it is necessary to solve definitively the basic economic problem of the U.S.S.R., to overtake and surpass the most developed capitalist countries economically, that is, in per capita production. Thus there will be created such an abundance of goods as will allow the application in practice of the communist principle of distribution.

The second task—the task of communist education of the masses—arises from the fact that the level of consciousness of many toilers lags behind the social position they occupy.

The plan of transformation required for the achievement of communism, as well as the indicated historical time limits—ten to fifteen years—show the realistic soundness, scientific depth and remarkable power of prediction with which these tasks are outlined in the decisions of the Congress. One cannot doubt that our development will progress exactly as outlined by the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This does not in any way mean that the development will proceed on its own momentum. On the contrary, stupendous work will be required, zeal and sacrifices will be needed for the new, mighty upswing in the efforts of the workers, peasants and Soviet intellectuals in order to fulfil the plan of transformation essential for the construction of the communist society.

In the fateful days of the great October Socialist Revolution, our Bolshevik Party aroused the multimillioned masses of the people to struggle and victory, arming them with a precise and clear-cut perspective.

In the war for the defense of the fatherland, the Civil War against foreign interventionists, White Guards, landlords, and capitalists, our people fought under the glorious banner of Bolshevism, and won. In struggle against the greatest odds, the Soviet people erected in the course of the Stalinist Five-Year Plans, giants of heavy industry, demonstrative examples of the Communist attitude toward toil.

We have entered into the era of completion of the construction of the classless socialist society and of gradual transformation from socialism to communism. Our future, our road to communism is lighted by the mighty projector of Stalinist thought. With self-confidence and vigor beats the pulse of the mighty socialist power. The liberated peoples of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia are living through great days of entering into the family of nations of the U.S.S.R. The stars of the Kremlin shine as a beacon for all humanity.

In the lead of the mighty and unconquerable army of Bolsheviks,

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at the head of the multi-millioned mass of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. there stands a man so close and familiar, so boundlessly loved, who by his power of foresight opens up the path to communism. His name is symbolic of liberated toil, of the brotherhood of peoples, of joy and hope for all oppressed humanity. His name is Stalin.

(From *Pravda,* November 6, 1939.)

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ERNST THAELMANN AS LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

BY WILHELM FLORIN

(Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany)

IT WAS Ernst Thaelmann's devotion to the cause of the working people; his unswerving loyalty to the teachings of the great masters of socialism, to the cause of the world proletariat and of international solidarity; his relentless fight against opportunism in every shape and form; his firm ties with the Soviet Union; his exemplary struggle against the reactionary landlords and monopolist capitalists on behalf of the progress and culture of the German people, on behalf of peace, bread and freedom; and his talent for leading the masses in the right direction that had raised him to the leadership of the Communist Party.

The workers in the Communist Party rejoiced when the Central Committee appointed Thaelmann leader of the Party. Time and time again he had shown them the right road to take. He was always ready to help, and success attended his every action. The members of the Party had a warm trust in him because he held aloft the banner of Marx - Engels - Lenin - Stalin and maintained the closest ties with the Communist International.

Ernst Thaelmann was fully conscious of the responsibility this entailed, and in every action he justified the great confidence reposed in him by the Party members and the working people. He thus very soon managed to bring about a real concentration of the best revolutionary elements in the Communist Party, the result of a policy which furthered the cause of the working class movement and of the Party.

Thaelmann was approaching his fortieth year when he took over the helm of the Party. But he clearly realized that notwithstanding all the experience he had gained in the struggles prior to, during, and since the war, he would have to work hard to fit himself for the tasks that now confronted him. His constant efforts to master the problems that faced him served as a model of genuine proletarian self-discipline to all workers.

While his progress from a simple longshoreman to the leader of the workers' party had demanded, in addition to his day-to-day political activities and an untiring study of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism,

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a knowledge also of the history of his own people and of the peoples and labor movements of other countries, now that he had become the leader of the Party, he had, in addition to bearing the tremendous daily burden of labor this entailed, to work all the harder to extend and enrich his knowledge. This he never ceased to do. And the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin served him as an unfailing guide through the thorny wastes of pseudo-science. His talent for co-operating with other Party leaders stood him in good stead here too.

Thaelmann possessed a profound knowledge of the history of the bourgeois-democratic and working class movements in Germany, France, England and America. He later learned to know every phase in the development of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Party experts in one or another special department were often astonished at the unerring way in which Thaelmann detected the weak points in their work, and at the knowledge he displayed in their special fields. Yet it was always with the greatest modesty that he outlined instructions for the study of any particular problem.

Thaelmann was very skillful in handling rash "theoreticians" whose sterile discussions hampered work among the masses, or who wanted to sidetrack the Party by erroneous theories. He knew how to dissuade them from their false views or to crush them by superior weight of political knowledge.

What particularly distinguished him was his keen awareness of the importance of what were regarded by many as "minor questions"; he always strove to have these questions properly appreciated as rallying points for popular movements.

Indifference to the minor demands of the working people indicated, in his opinion, a lack of contact with the masses and a sectarian attitude toward them.

He was always impatient of unsettled or unclarified questions, and would work incessantly until they were elucidated, urging his colleagues to study them thoroughly and to make bold decisions. He demanded a strict and sober estimate of a situation as a prime requisite for a correct policy of action. And he himself set an example in cool deliberation, bold decision, comradely criticism and fearless self-criticism. That is one more reason for the high personal prestige he enjoyed in the Party.

The picture of Thaelmann as a political leader will not be complete unless we mention his gift for learning from the masses. Any leader of the workers who at critical moments fails to listen to the voice of the masses is bound to come to grief. Thaelmann maintained the closest contacts with his fellow-workers; he had grown up among the masses, and he had seen many a labor leader come to grief through turning a deaf ear to the voice of the masses and through tackling the tasks confronting him like a bureaucrat.

We know from pre-war days that Thaelmann enjoyed the trust of his fellow-workers, trade union mem-

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bers and Party comrades because of his sincerity, spirit of solidarity and courage. It was only because he enjoyed this trust that he was able to become a prominent trade union functionary, leader of the revolutionary opposition in the Social-Democratic Party, chairman of the Hamburg organization of the Communist Party, and finally the leader of the whole Communist Party. He always endeavored to maintain close contact with his former workmates. Whenever he visited Hamburg he would look up old acquaintances for a friendly chat and exchange of opinions.

Thaelmann relentlessly exposed all breaches of the confidence of the masses on the part of their elected leaders—of which the history of the German labor movement can offer all too many examples—especially that breach which was most visibly expressed in the Social-Democratic leaders' policy of coalition with the enemies of the working people.

Thaelmann—and this was a feature he had borrowed from Lenin's style of work—was highly skilled in the art of conversing with people he chanced to meet on trains, in waiting rooms, in restaurants or in trade union centers, and, by shrewd and pointed questions, in learning their true opinions and the social background behind them. He would then follow this up with advice, teaching his interlocutors and at the same time learning from them. If the time at his disposal permitted, he was fond of wandering through working class quarters, alone or with a companion, in order to learn how the people lived and fared. He was acquainted with the working class quarters of most of the large cities of Germany. And he, in his turn, was known best of all to the workers of the big factories and works. He would often make excursions to remote villages to question and converse with the small farmers, always preferring in such cases to remain incognito. The information personally gained in this way he utilized when formulating the demands of the masses or when it was necessary to convince comrades in his own party.

In later years, as his popularity grew and his portrait was to be found in many working class homes, he would often be recognized as he sat quietly in the corner of some bar listening to the talk of the workers, or even when visiting some country village. On such occasions he would at first be visibly embarrassed by the pleasure expressed by the workers and peasants, who would naturally flock round their guest with enthusiasm or from curiosity. Many working people who had been led astray by the enemy would on such occasions quickly learn to know him for the man of the people and class-comrade he was.

As a Party leader, Thaelmann always sought for living contact with the non-Party workers. "I will speak to the comrades or to the peasants myself," he would often say to Party officials who were reporting to him on some workers' or peasants' struggle. He would often converse with members of the Social-Democratic Party without revealing his identity. He would seek

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such encounters so as to get a first-hand idea of the views and manner of life of the Social-Democratic workers. On one such occasion a comrade exclaimed: "Why, they are only young and inexperienced workers." Whereupon Thaelmann retorted: "Are young workers less able to effect important decisions than old ones?" Thaelmann vigorously combated the false habit of certain Party members of classing the minor functionaries of the Social-Democratic Party in one category with the reactionary leaders and regarding them all as betrayers of the workers' interests.

He always tried to stimulate workers to discuss the activities and policy of the Communist Party and its functionaries. Non-party workers would often come to him and ask whether the views expressed by one or another functionary were right. Not infrequently, if the occasion warranted it, he would give a public reply to such questions. He had most opportunity for discussions with Social-Democratic workers in his native city of Hamburg. In the course of these discussions they would frankly express their opinions of the policy and of individual measures of the Communist Party. He would listen to them patiently and discuss every question raised in a comradely spirit, and was thus able to learn where to look for the weak and strong points of the Communists' arguments. Such discussions with Social-Democratic workers were the origin of many a critical remark and correction proffered by Thaelmann at the sittings of the Central Committee. This habit of benefiting from criticisms of the policy of the Communist Party made by non-party people or people of a different political trend was an essential part of his method of leadership, one that conformed to his whole character and was gradually to become an indispensable source of information and guidance for him.

Many who did not know him used to say that he despised the intellectuals. The very opposite is true. It is true that he detested highbrows who looked down superciliously on the masses. But of real scientists and artists, one of whose hallmarks is a progressive spirit, he always spoke with the greatest esteem. "What benefits such men could bring the people if the workers and peasants were in power!" he used to say. "What a free field would be offered for the development of their energies in a socialist Germany!"

Thaelmann defended the interests of the working people from every angle. Concern for their fate, for their needs and wants, is reflected in every statement of policy, appeal and platform of the Party written under Thaelmann's directions. He would also mobilize the Party for direct practical help when danger or disaster threatened the working people. When, for example, a big flood devastated Central Germany, the services of all units of the Red Front Combatant League were offered on his instructions for the work of rescue.

It was no rare thing to hear young Party members, on meeting Thaelmann for the first time, exclaiming:

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"That man's heart is in the right place!"

The reactionary press might persuade the petty bourgeois that Thaelmann was a brutal, ruthless and violent man. Communists who are hounded, persecuted and maltreated for their opinions, who are continually flung into prison, and who live now legally, now illegally, certainly do in time become men of steel, whose hardness towards the class enemy springs from their deep love of the people and their profound humanitarianism. But whoever has seen Thaelmann in the midst of workers knows him for the true man he is; whoever has seen him in the midst of Young Pioneers, surrounded by the bright faces of children, has learned to know another side of this battle-hardened Communist. He would talk with enthusiasm to the young folk of the happy life that awaited them in a liberated Germany, and of the great Land of Soviets where a new and happy generation was growing up.

As a Party leader, Ernst Thaelmann was always stern with his friends when an extreme effort was required to achieve a given aim; but he was equally stern with himself. Confidence in tried and tested comrades did not blind him to their shortcomings. He held industriousness and ability in high esteem. "We must train ourselves day in, day out," he used to say, "otherwise we cannot train others." He detested nothing more than bureaucracy. "There can be no place in our Party for a formal, indifferent and stereotyped approach to vital questions," he was in the habit of saying.

Thaelmann it was who, in the midst of the Party's struggle against reaction, constantly reminded the German proletariat of the great duty of active international solidarity. Accompanied by Chinese comrades, he would hurry from meeting to meeting, organizing aid for the Chinese people in their struggle for emancipation. He appealed for support for the English workers during the General Strike of 1926; he rallied the masses to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti; he took an energetic part in the campaign for the release of the innocent Scottsboro boys; he fought passionately against the fascist terror in Italy and vigorously supported the Matteotti protest campaign with its outcry against the savage barbarities of Mussolini.

Thaelmann's fight against the imperialist warmongers and his sympathy for menaced and oppressed peoples form a cardinal feature of his policy and character.

Thaelmann has always been distinguished for his personal courage, as displayed in the most varied situations. His personal bravery springs from his political leadership. His is not a blind recklessness, but the courage that springs from a sense of responsibility for the fate of his class-comrades and fellow-fighters.

After the October revolt in Hamburg, when the Communist Party was suppressed for several months, from November, 1923 to February, 1924, the police made desperate efforts to discover and arrest Thaelmann. But he kept carefully con-

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cealed and acted with all due caution, although he energetically continued to carry on his revolutionary work. He got together the most reliable and courageous functionaries of the Wasserkante District and through them arranged measures of protection from the brutal terror that was raging, and for the continued prosecution of revolutionary work among the masses. He allowed himself no rest. Whether in broad daylight or in the dead of night, whenever necessary he would come together with comrades in defiance of the police sleuths. On the instructions of the Central Committee, he traveled all over the country, holding illegal meetings; and many a time he found himself in a tight corner, hemmed in by the bloodhounds of the reaction.

One cold winter's Sunday in January, 1924, the revolutionary masses of Hamburg, at the call of the Communist Party, marched in procession to the cemetery. This had been an annual event all over Germany when the Party was legal; it was dedicated to the memory of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the founders of the Party, who had been foully murdered by the hand of counter-revolution. In the Hamburg cemetery a revolutionary memorial had been erected by the workers in honor of the heroes of the revolutionary struggles of 1918. Around this, several thousand workers gathered. The police were apparently in doubt whether this was an organized or spontaneous assembly, but took no risks and sounded the alarm.

Suddenly, Ernst Thaelmann, the man the police had been hunting for so long, appeared at the memorial and began to speak. The crowd drew in closer to listen, their faces lighting up with pleasure at the sight of their persecuted leader. They drew tightly around him, as though to protect him from the clutches of the police. The police at once got busy: they barred all the entrances and exits to the cemetery in order to cut off the meeting. They did not intend to let the fugitive escape this time. Meanwhile, Thaelmann had finished his courageous speech. Workers pressed round to squeeze him by the hand. A solid ring of workers surrounded him. Suddenly a wall of comrades formed, opening a lane to safety, and the police were once again balked of their prey.

At the beginning of 1925 a private conference of South German Communist members of parliament was held in Cannstadt, near Stuttgart. Ernst Thaelmann was to speak. Although the Party had already been legal for some time, the conference was suddenly invaded by a strong force of police and all present were arrested. Thaelmann energetically protested, and astonished the Wuertenburg police officials not a little by the warmth of his Hamburg temperament. The arrival of the police had attracted a number of workers to the conference hall. As the arrested men, despite all protests, were being led away, Thaelmann, under the very nose of the astonished gendarmes, suddenly flung his portfolio containing the notes of his speech far into the crowd of workers, where it was snatched up and disappeared in a

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trice. In this way it was possible after all to acquaint the workers and peasants with the proposals Thaelmann had prepared for the guidance of the Communist members of parliament in defending the democratic rights of the people which were being threatened by the reactionaries.

On May 1, 1925, Comrade Ernst Thaelmann marched with the contingent from his district of Eimsbuettel to the central May Day meeting on the Moorweide in Hamburg. While the children's column was marching past, the police tried to break up the procession, and rode their horses into the ranks of the children. A fearful tumult ensued, which became all the graver when two horses began to shy. Several children were already sprawling under the horses' hoofs, but the police captain refused to call off his men; on the contrary, he ordered them to draw their rubber batons against the children who were trying to protect themselves with flagstaffs and streamers, from the shying horses. This incensed the workers beyond all bounds, and there was danger of a serious collision. The police captain had already provocatively drawn his revolver, when Thaelmann seized his horse by the bridle and in tones of thunder ordered him to put up his firearm and call off his men. The officer and police were intimidated by the threatening look of the incensed workers who crowded up behind Thaelmann; they thought it wiser to stop their provocation and withdraw.

On May 22, 1927, a demonstration was organized by the Red Front Combatant League and the Communist Party in Berlin-Charlottenburg to protest against the fascist terror. The disciplined and militant columns of the Red Front League marched in a long procession through the streets. Red banners and streamers waved above the marching men, and the ears of the bourgeoisie were assailed by rhythmic choruses of "Down with fascism!" A body of mounted police suddenly appeared and began to belabor the unarmed workers with drawn sabres and rubber batons. One worker staggered, his face covered with blood. The policeman raised his sabre to strike again, when a man sprang forward, seized his tottering comrade and interposed his body to the falling sabre. The blow struck him full in the brow. It was Ernst Thaelmann. Red Front ambulance men rushed to his aid. The police attack encountered a firm wall of workers and was driven back. But the news spread like wildfire through the ranks: "Thaelmann is wounded!" The workers were seized with rage and indignation; but Thaelmann pulled himself together and calmed his comrades. Had he not done so, bloodshed would have been inevitable.

On May 1, 1929, acting at the orders of the reactionaries, Zoergiebel, the Social-Democratic Police Commissioner of Berlin, ventured to forbid the traditional May Day demonstration. Workers all over the world regarded this as a monstrous piece of provocation. So great was the determination of the Berlin

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workers to resist this attempt to rob them of a long unchallenged right that they came out into the streets in spite of the ban. But the police under Zoergiebel's command fired on the workers, and thirty-three men and women were struck down. The workers of Berlin were outraged by this crime. Many of them took to arms in defense of their rights. Barricades were erected in Neukoelln and Wedding to protect these working class districts from police attack. The situation was a difficult one for the Communist Party. If anybody realized the gravity of the responsibility, Ernst Thaelmann did. As the political situation stood, none of the conditions existed for a successful uprising, but, on the other hand, it was the Party's duty not to abandon the men at the barricades and to continue their resistance by political means.

Thaelmann decided to go to Wedding himself to discuss matters personally with the leaders and get a true picture of the situation. This was the night of May 1. The fighting zone was cut off by a heavy cordon of police. Under cover of darkness, he managed to slip through the police lines. Gathering the leaders together, he described the general situation to them and made it plain that the armed resistance must be terminated and converted into a political mass movement. Of the members of the Communist Party he demanded that they, as Communists, must convince the non-Communist workers of the expediency of the Party's recommendations.

Wedding was plunged in darkness; every light in the streets and in the houses had been extinguished. Now and again the silence was broken by the bark of shots and the rattling of armored cars, and the darkness pierced by searchlight beams. Any incautious movement in the deserted streets might attract the fire of the police. The leaders crept back through alleys and sidestreets to their comrades at the barricades and proceeded to carry out the task assigned to them. The fight was called off. The mighty demonstration which a few weeks later, on the occasion of the Communist Party Congress held in Wedding, marched through the streets of this district and enthusiastically greeted Ernst Thaelmann proved that the workers had properly understood his proposal to transform the barricade fight into a political mass movement.

In August, 1930, a National Youth Conference was held in Leipzig. Some hundred thousand young workers marched in procession and greeted Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German working class, with enthusiastic calls of "Rot Front!" Column followed column. The police became nervous and started to shoot. The young workers resisted this act of provocation and two policemen were killed. Excitement rose to fever heat; it looked as if the streets would be turned into a shambles. But Thaelmann did not lose his head for a moment. He calmly set himself at the head of a Berlin section and started the columns marching, skilfully leading the procession out of the area where

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the police had been stationed for provocative purposes, thus preventing the massacre the reactionaries had been itching for.

July 20, 1932. We now know what a fatal day this was for the political development of Germany. The coup d'état carried out by the reactionaries in Prussia under the leadership of Hindenburg, Papen and Schleicher and the shameful capitulation of the Social-Democratic Ministers Braun and Severing before the notorious "lieutenant and ten men" was a big step towards the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany. The leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and of the General Confederation of Trade Unions rejected the proposal of the Communist Party for a united front, although millions of Social-Democratic workers were awaiting the call for a joint struggle.

On the day of the coup d'état, Ernst Thaelmann was in Leipzig, where he had addressed a mass meeting. On learning the news of the events in Berlin, he at once got into touch on the telephone with the Central Committee of the Communist Party and gave directions for the drawing up of an appeal for a united fighting front with the Social-Democratic workers, trade unionists and Reichsbanner comrades and for the organization of mass demonstrations and strikes. Then he promptly set out to drive from Leipzig to Berlin by automobile. It was already known that all the approaches to Berlin had been occupied by the Reichswehr with the object of hermetically sealing off the capital in the event of a strike or general unrest. All went well until the outskirts of the city were reached, when suspicious signs led Thaelmann to suspect an ambush. He gave a signal to the hesitant driver, and the car, whizzing past at sixty miles an hour, scattered the guards before they could take to their rifles. The attempt to intercept the car by telephoning the inner cordon of guards failed. Thaelmann had slipped into a side-road, and was soon sitting at a meeting of leading comrades called to discuss the new turn of events.

That the enemy of the working class entertained a profound hatred for this proletarian leader, persecuted him and attempted to have him put out of the way was only natural. As far back as 1923 the fascists in Hamburg had thrown a hand-grenade into the house where he lived on the Siemensstrasse. But the revolutionary vigilance of the workers had foiled the attempt and brought the culprits to light. It is significant of bourgeois-democratic Germany that for years no judge could be found to bring these fascists to book. The light fines finally imposed upon them were very soon annulled. But the attempt made it clear to the German workers that the courageous champion of their interests had earned the savage hatred of their enemies, which to the revolutionary proletariat was one more reason for rallying closely round him and strengthening their confidence in him.

Thaelmann clearly saw how dangerous the fascist gangs were to the German working class and the German people. He therefore persis-

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tently strove for the establishment of a united front with the Social-Democratic masses and their organizations, with the whole Social-Democratic Party. In July, 1932, Social-Democrats asked whether the Communist Party meant the united front sincerely. Thaelmann's reply was:

"Hitler's pack of officers and princes have proclaimed that they want to exterminate the Communist movement, which means that they want to hang, draw and quarter millions of revolutionary men and women. In view of this, how can the Communists not be sincere about the united front? The Communist movement does not and cannot live by maneuvers; it lives because it works in the service of the working people and is the movement of these masses themselves."

The repeated and uninterrupted attempts of the Communists, and especially of Ernst Thaelmann, to establish a united front with the Social-Democratic Party, as the only guarantee of victory over fascism, came to nothing owing to its persistent rejection by the Social-Democratic leaders.

Thaelmann is inspired with a burning love for the German working people, for the workers and peasants, who are now languishing under the yoke of fascism, but whose ultimate victory over tyranny is inevitable. He is the embodiment of the glowing patriotism of the Germany to come, of a Germany freed by the working class from fascist reaction and cultural barbarity, a socialist Germany, which will resume its ties with the great cultural traditions of the past, with the heritage of progress. His ceaseless struggle against chauvinism and imperialism, against the fomenters and organizers of war, was motivated by the anxiety to ward off from the German people the menace of untold sufferings. He clearly perceived that fascism, war and privation would throw the German people far back, materially, spiritually and culturally. He was eager to press forward, to lead the working people to freedom, to lead the German people to brotherly communion with other nations, and thus to true fame and honor in the world.

Thaelmann's love of the German working people is intimately bound up with his loyalty and devotion to the international working class movement. For had he not absorbed the teachings of the greatest minds Germany had produced, the teachings of Marx and Engels, the founders of the international socialist working class movement, who in 1847, in *The Communist Manifesto,* had issued the cry: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"?

In his political activities, Thaelmann took as his models the greatest geniuses of our era, Lenin and Stalin, and it was with passionate love and conviction that he professed himself a disciple of Lenin and Leninism. Equally convinced and firm is his devotion for the great continuer of Lenin's works, Stalin, the leader and teacher of the world proletariat in our day. In Stalin's works and teachings he saw the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Hence his respect and love for Stalin, his firm

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confidence in the success of Stalin's leadership of the world proletariat.

Thaelmann has always remained a man of simple bearing, the son of the working class he always was and always wished to be. This simplicity stamped his whole manner of life. He was most at home when speaking his own Hamburg dialect. Even at public meetings he would sometimes lapse into this dialect, which might be called the language of the Hamburg workers, the vehicle of their inmost thoughts. He detested the ambition and arrogance of the petty bourgeois; but he loved all who did big things in a spirit of modesty.

Having lost his mother at an early age, Thaelmann clung with love and solicitude to his old father. He was proud of the fact that Jan Thaelmann remained a zealous worker in the labor movement in spite of his advanced years. The old man was a treasurer and senior newspaper distributor. His zeal and honesty had played a big part in Ernst's upbringing. The son was a prisoner in a Hitler jail when the old man died, but the fascist brutes would not even allow him to pay his last respects at his father's grave.

Thaelmann has a wife and child. It must be said to the honor of Rosa Thaelmann that for her the interests of the working people have always come before everything else. A true comrade of Thaelmann's, she has always had the deepest sympathy and understanding for the struggle in the cause of the working class. She had become acquainted with Thaelmann in the laundry where they both worked, she as a young ironer. When she married him he was already an active Party functionary whose spare time was largely taken up with trade union and Party affairs. But it was this perhaps that made their relations so cordial and lasting, for they were based on common work for a common cause. Rosa's unassuming cooperation at her husband's side at the same time reflects to his own credit.

In August Bebel, the German working class movement of pre-war days had a leader of extraordinary prestige and popularity. His deviations towards reformism were not generally known to the masses and served to diminish his prestige only among the small circle of Lefts. Since his death, the German Social-Democratic Party had not produced such another personality. In Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the courage, inflexibility and determination of the revolutionary proletariat were personified. They lit the torch of revolution in the very midst of the World War. But the German working class had been split by the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, who had formed common cause with the German imperialists, and a difficult and severe fight had to be fought against a cohort of traitors to Marxism, so that Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg could only make their way step by stey. And when at last their valiant deeds had made them the heroes of the working class movement and the acknowledged leaders of its advanced section, and when the class-conscious

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workers had come to love them with a warmer and deeper love than they had ever had for Bebel, they were struck down by the counter-revolution.

For years after this the German proletariat had no outstanding and acknowledged leader. The Social-Democratic movement, which has become thoroughly opportunist, and which, like capitalism, is doomed, naturally could not produce such a personality; only the Party of Marxism-Leninism could do so. As in the course of years Ernst Thaelmann, first within the Party and then beyond the Party, among the working masses and a section of the poor peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, won recognition, prestige and authority, and when later the class-conscious workers and many others looked to Thaelmann with growing affection and love, the leader of the German Communist Party became the most popular and acknowledged leader of the German working class movement of post-war days, the successor of August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

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AWAKENING IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

BY CONRAD WARD

THE present imperialist war has renewed attention to the British imperialist policy of colonial subjection. While professing to be fighting for the rights of small nations and for democracy, the British ruling class denies to its colonies the most elementary democratic rights. Every attempt of the people to raise themselves above the status of colonial slaves has been met with the mailed fist. For three centuries this has been the policy pursued in the West Indies.

The present war is hailed by the planter and merchant classes in the West Indies; for it comes at a time when the people, growing restive, were beginning to challenge their rule.

Under the "Defense of the Realm Act" and through various "emergency" measures, the colonial dictators have set to work to muzzle the voices of protest and to silence every manifestation of discontent. They consider this war as a heaven-sent opportunity to stem the swelling tide of resistance against their unbridled exploitation.

The attempts of the colonial rulers to infuse in the people a "Die for the Empire" spirit and to tie the West Indian workers to the British war chariot have failed to evoke any enthusiasm among the broad masses, especially among the advanced sections of the working class, who today are energetically posing their demands for better working conditions to meet the increasing burdens caused by the war.

The bitter lessons learned from the last war and from the recent strike struggles, in which the rulers did not hesitate to employ their naval and military forces to subdue the strikers, have helped to shape the present attitude of the working class, despite the high pressure of war propaganda and the abrogation of peace-time civil rights.

These struggles were marked by waves of rapidly succeeding strikes and demonstrations, which swept the British West Indies from the middle of 1937 to the end of 1938, and in the form of sporadic and intermittent struggles until recently. The strikes have brought into bold relief the acute problems of the peoples of this outpost of the British Empire.

This strike wave which was to engulf practically all of the West Indies started on June 19, 1937, when oil field workers in Trinidad commenced a sit-down strike to en-

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force their demand of a wage increase from 7 to 12 cents an hour to meet the rising cost of living. The refusal of the oil companies to negotiate precipitated the strike, which developed into a two-week general strike, embracing nearly all categories of workers and paralyzing the whole industrial life of the island.

The Trinidad strike ended in a victory for the workers. It resulted in wage increases of from 60 to 72 cents per day, reduction of the working week from 54 to 45 hours with a one-week paid vacation for a considerable section of the working class, and in the development of the first genuine trade unions organized on an industrial basis. Moreover, it gave the impetus to a whole series of strikes and upheavals in Barbados, British Guiana, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, and in Jamaica.

In Jamaica, a series of local strikes culminated in the general strike of May, 1938, which gave birth to the trade union movement with an estimated membership then of about 70,000.

In these strikes, the British bourgeoisie showed to the full its terroristic dictatorship. Forty-six workers were killed, 429 injured and thousands arrested and prosecuted.

Never before in the history of the West Indies had working class struggles assumed such proportions and working class unity reached such heights. Today, trade unions or some form of workers' organizations exist in practically every colony, with the highest degree of development obtaining in Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana. A beginning in the unification and federation of the trade unions has been made in the formation of the British Guiana Trade Union Assembly and in the short-lived Jamaica Trades Union Council; and the first step in the direction of establishing an inter-colonial federation of trade unions was taken at the conference held in British Guiana in June, 1938. This conference, however, fell short of its objectives, because unions from only a few colonies were represented, due to the fact that at that time trade unions had not yet been organized in many of the Islands.

The seething discontent of the West Indian masses, which found its expression in the wave of militant strikes, has its basic cause in the landlessness, low wages, perennial unemployment and the sub-human standard of life of the majority of the people. Sugar-cane cultivation, based formerly on plantation slave labor, has for centuries been the basic crop and main industry of the West Indies. For over three centuries, these Islands, where the scramble for colonial territory by the European nations had its beginnings, supplied vast wealth to the absentee landowners and planter class. Today, it is still the most important industry in most of the colonies.

However, West Indian economy is changing in certain respects. The old sugar plantation system, the economic foundation of slavery, with its individual factory, is largely being supplanted by the modern centralized sugar factory controlled by banks and commercial interests

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which monopolize the supply of cane from the planters and peasants in a given area. Besides, every available inch of land is being turned into sugar cultivation. Thus, there has developed a class of landless, low-paid plantation workers. In Trinidad, thanks to the development of the oil and asphalt industries, there has come into being an industrial proletariat. It is this class which has given the lead to the mass struggles that have swept through the colonies; and it is in Trinidad where trade unionism is most advanced, more stable, and a greater force to be reckoned with.

The land monopolies, taking advantage of the low prices in the sugar market and the weak state of organization among the agricultural workers, have scaled wages down to the lowest possible minimum, paying the workers 40 to 60 cents per day according to skill. At the same time, the subsidized sugar companies are reaping a golden harvest. The West Indies Sugar Company, controlled by Tate and Lyle, has recorded profits of about $37,000,000 in the last five years.

In Trinidad, the source of over 60 per cent of the British Empire's oil production, oil workers' wages have been 62 cents per day and only recently were increased by two cents an hour by an Arbitration Tribunal, while one of the 22 oil companies, the Apex Oil Fields, Ld., with a capital value of $2,750,000 declared a profit of $1,145,460 in 1936.

THE LAND QUESTION

The West Indian colonies are primarily agrarian countries. West Indian life consists in the main of producing agricultural products for export. The question of land distribution is, therefore, of paramount importance for the majority of the people. The present set-up of land ownership reveals the basic cause of the poverty of the mass of the people. Land monopoly enables the planter class to dominate the life of the peoples of entire communities. It is the source of low wages, unsanitary living conditions, the high rate of illiteracy, and of political power in the hands of the landowners who determine and control the political life of the colonies.

An example of the control by the small landowning class over the land in the West Indies is furnished by the following table showing the sizes of agricultural units in Trinidad:

Size of Agricultural Units in Trinidad

Size of Holdings in Acres	*No. of Holdings*	*Percentage of Total Holdings*	*Total Areas (acres)*	*Percentage of Total Cultivated Area*
Under 10 ...	10,038	62.5	62,744	16
11 to 50....	5,009	31.0	99,229	26
51 to 100 ...	456	2.8	32,162	9
101 to 1000..	574	3.6	161,496	43
Over 1000 ..	11	.1	23,437	6
Total	16,088		379,068	

This table indicates that in Trinidad, where in 1931 there were 47,000 persons actively engaged in agriculture, either as planters, peasants or laborers, slighter over 1 per

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cent of this number, that is, 585 holdings of units of more than 100 acres, owned 184,933 acres, which is half the area under cultivation. This uneven distribution of the land, a survival of the days of slavery, permits a small planter class to exercise its domination over the economic life of the West Indian people and to perpetuate the undemocratic system of crown colony government.

In Jamaica, according to the collector general's report, 80,315 holdings in 1938 are under a half-acre in size, while on the other hand there were 146 holdings with over 2,000 acres. These figures are illuminating, for Jamaica is the one West Indian colony where peasant proprietorship has developed on the largest scale.

In Barbados, the planters' paradise, of the 65,835 acres of arable land, 51,886 are cultivated by plantations. Of the land occupied by 18,039 peasants, 13,898 of the holdings are of less than one acre.

Poverty in the West Indies is expressed, not only in the landlessness of the people, but also in the onerous burdens of taxation. The high indirect taxation consisting largely of import duties on foodstuffs, clothing and other manufactured goods, falls heavily upon the poor people with a low wage standard, who are forced to pay high prices for imported commodities through tariffs and quota restrictions in favor of British products; while direct taxation contributes only a small percentage to the revenue.

In 1936, the total revenue of the British West Indies was $36,925,000. Of this amount, $14,805,000 or 40 per cent was derived from import duties and only $1,985,000, or 5 per cent, from income tax. Comparable figures in Great Britain reveal that import duties yielded 24 per cent and income tax 35 per cent. These figures speak volumes on the manner in which the poor in the West Indies are made to pay the bulk of taxation, while the wealthy contribute little.

The figures bear out the fundamental truth of Professor Macmillan's statement in his *Warning from the West Indies:* "A social and economic study of the West Indies is necessarily a study of poverty."

Industry in the West Indies comprises mainly small-scale manufacturing, except for Trinidad with its oil and asphalt, employing approximately 9,000 workers, and British Guiana, with its gold, diamond and bauxite mining, employing about 5,000 workers, and forestry employing 4,000. Of the remainder of the workers, some are artisans and others are engaged in agriculture, while slightly less than 40 per cent are engaged in commerce, mining and transport. The position of the urban toilers is only little better than that of the land workers. Wage rates vary according to colony, but the average daily wage for agricultural laborers is about 40 cents, while urban unskilled workers average about 60 cents per day. A recent survey revealed that with one hour's wage a factory worker in Great Britain will buy 5.2 lbs. of bread, while the Jamaican factory worker earning $5 to $5.25 a

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week will buy with one hour's wage about 1.25 lbs. of bread.

Hardly any phase of life of both the urban and rural workers is more shocking than the housing and sanitary conditions. Barrack dwellings, a relic of the days of indentured labor, are still the prevailing housing system for the workers. Even a Royal Commission which recently visited Trinidad was forced to state that these barrack dwellings "are indescribable in their lack of elementary needs of decency."

This is the background of the terrible plight of the West Indian workers which led to the outburst of strikes and revolts and to the rise of the trade union movement.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Trade union organization in the West Indies is but of recent development, although there have existed in some of the colonies small and weak groups of organized workers for a long period of time. In British Guiana and Trinidad, however, labor organizations are of relatively long standing.

The British Guiana Labor Union, now fifteen years old and with a long record of militant struggles, was among the first to win the eight-hour day and other important demands for certain categories of the working population. The Trinidad Workingmen's Association and Labor Party, led by reformist politicians and at one time claiming over 30,000 members, is today a mere skeleton organization.

The recent strikes have given great momentum to the development of genuine trade unions in the West Indies, especially in Trinidad and British Guiana. Unions embracing workers in all the basic fields of employment have been organized, and corresponding to the new situation and development of the working class, the old type of general union without any specific policy or program has been supplanted by the industrial union based on a specific industry. This new development has been definitely influenced by the C.I.O. in the U.S.A.

Industrial unionism has brought unity and organizational strength to the young trade union movement in parts of the West Indies, where employer-employee relationship is going through rapid and fundamental changes. Trade union recognition, the right of collective bargaining, labor contracts, the closed shop principle, legalized picketing, the establishment of labor relations machinery—these are among the basic changes that have taken place two years after the breaking out of the first serious organized strikes. These changes are the first steps that will serve to sweep away the last remaining vestiges of the semi-feudal conditions under which the West Indian toilers live.

In contrast to this is the condition of the trade union movement in Jamaica. After the May, 1938, general strike, trade unionism had a phenomenal growth in Jamaica. Over 70,000 members were enrolled, but the movement came under the control of a former money lender, A Bustamente, who, through his one-man dictatorial and unprincipled rule, has succeeded in smash-

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ing the movement for trade union unity and for the establishment of a trade union federation.

The Bustamente Industrial Union, named after the leader, who is president for life, has today a membership of less than 30,000. Internal dissension, due in the main to a complete lack of democracy within the union, the lack of any intelligent trade union policy and principles, corruption, and to Bustamente's overtures to the employers and the ruling clique, threaten the union with disintegration. In fact, the union is taking on more and more the characteristics of a nationalist semi-Garveyite movement.

In Barbados, trade unions are springing up and are being organized by the Barbados Progressive League. It is essential to recognize that the major factors which have determined the rate of growth and the course of the development of the trade unions in the different colonies are the composition, development and relative maturity of the working class in these colonies, conditioned by the prevailing nature of production.

Trinidad differs from the other colonies in that it has a large-scale mineral industry, giving rise to an industrial working class, in contrast with the other colonies where the working class is composed mainly of agricultural workers, artisans, transport workers, and workers in small and secondary industry. It is precisely in Trinidad and British Guiana, where trade union unity is most advanced, that the question of an inter-colonial federation of trade unions was initiated and has the strongest backing. The first step towards this goal was taken in June, 1938. A second attempt recently made was frustrated by the outbreak of the war in Europe.

POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS IN THE WEST INDIES

Scattered throughout the Caribbean Sea, the British West Indies comprise eighteen colonies, sixteen insular and two continental: British Honduras and British Guiana. The population of the British West Indies is approximately 3,000,000, of which 82 per cent are people of African descent, 12.5 per cent East Indian, 3.5 per cent white.

British occupation of the Islands, acquired either through conquest or settlement, dates from about 1600. The three centuries of British rule have not been devoted to the economic and social progress of the Islands, but rather to the acquisition of wealth for the dominant planter class and to maintain their political overlordship.

The form of government established in the West Indies by the early British settlers was patterned after the prevailing system in England. This was a House of Assembly, election to which was based on a property qualification. This institution was for two centuries completely dominated by the planter class.

The abolition of slavery in 1833 gave rise to a new relationship between the master class and the former slaves. After emancipation, the overwhelming part of the free population was black. Fearing election to the legislature of representa-

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tives of the black people, which would make it a truly representative body, the self-governing constitutions of nearly all the colonies were abolished.

The new constitutions established the Crown Colony system of government, whereby the Governor and an Executive Council of his own creation, representing the vested interests, frame the laws and pass them on to a "Legislative Council" on which they have a majority, for approval.

Except for one change, this is in the main the form of government that still prevails today. This change, introduced first in Jamaica in 1884, permits the elections of a minority of the members of the Legislative Council on a very restricted franchise.

Under this archaic and arbitrary form of government, the Legislature cannot initiate or introduce legislation, and the government, assured of the support of a majority of appointed official members, can always outvote the elected members. Furthermore, the franchise being based on property or income qualifications, the number of voters and candidates for the legislature is drastically limited to property owners or high-salaried professionals and employees.

That the majority of the inhabitants in the colonies are deprived of any share in legislative power is seen in the figures given in publications recently issued by the Colonial Office.

The following table gives the figures relevant to the exercise of the vote and the financial qualifications of elected members for the larger colonies:

Colony	*Estimated Population 12-31-37 (A)*	*Registered Voters (B)*	*Percentage of (B) to (A)*	*Qualification of Elected Members, Income per annum*
Barbados	190,939	6,424	3.4	$1,000
British Guiana	337,039	9,513	2.9	2,500
Jamaica	1,152,528	62,867	5.5	1,000
Trinidad	456,006	30,911	6.5	2,000

The annual income required of a voter is $250 in Barbados and Jamaica, $312.50 in British Guiana and Trinidad. Ownership of real property, and rents or taxes paid on real property also qualify one to vote.

The small number of eligible voters, as shown in these figures, is indicative of the dire poverty of the population in these colonies. The figures are eloquent testimony to the application of democracy to the colonies by British imperialism.

Britain's age-old method of "divide and rule" has been applied to perfection in the West Indies from the days of slavery until the present. The upper strata are Englishmen and native whites who control the wealth and the governments of the colonies, and for whom the highest paid administrative and civil service positions are reserved. The middle class generally comprises persons of mixed blood, who are the civil service employees in the lower brackets, professionals, clerks, managers, plantation overseers, etc. The skilled and unskilled workers are, in the main, blacks. Only in recent years have the blacks been successful in entering

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the legal and medical professions. Pursuing a deliberate policy of favoring mulattoes in white-collar jobs, in order to divide them from the mass of black toilers and to use them against the blacks, the ruling clique has been generally successful in fostering and maintaining intra-racial prejudices among the non-white majority of the population.

The recent upheavals have demonstrated that the toiling population is no longer in the mood to put up with intolerable conditions of poverty. This direct action has served, not only to challenge the unbridled rule of the plantation and oil barons in the economic sphere of life, but it also has given impetus to the development or revival of political movements fighting for universal suffrage and self-government.

These movements are, for the present, under the leadership of the middle class; but the advanced role played by the workers in the struggle for a new life, their growing consciousness of their organized strength, and their independent struggles indicate that they will become the determining factor in the future political struggles in the colonies. One indication of this is the sweeping victory of Adrian C. Rienzi, labor leader and workers' candidate, who decisively defeated his conservative opponent in the 1938 election for the Legislative Council in Trinidad. The election was fought on a clear labor *vs.* anti-labor issue. Also, in the November, 1939, municipal election in Trinidad, a number of trade union candidates were elected to the city council. This represents the first step in independent working class political action in the West Indies.

This growing maturity of the workers is gaining the recognition of sections of the middle class leaders who, moving along the path of independent political action, recognize the decisive force and strength of the working class and hence are seeking to draw in the workers and their organizations as allies in the struggle to change their Crown Colony status into one of self-government. They are even beginning to lend their support to the building of the trade union movement.

The maturity of the working class is also reflected in the development of revolutionary groups in some of the colonies. Though still small, loosely organized, and working under severe handicaps, they have influenced to some extent the workers' movement, and are now playing an increasingly important part in guiding the labor movement and in aiding the political development of the masses.

The most important organizations striving for political democracy in the West Indies are the People's National Party in Jamaica, the Progressive League in Barbados, the Manpower and Citizens' Association in British Guiana, the Workingmen's Association in St. Vincent, and the progressive section of the Trinidad Labor Party.

Of these, the People's National Party, the first political party in Jamaica, with a membership of 5,000, and the Barbados Progressive League, claiming a membership of 32,000, are the two most advanced

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and progressive political organizations.

Some of the basic points contained in the program of the People's National Party call for public ownership of the monopolies and utilities, land settlement and peasants' cooperatives for production, aid in the development of trade unions, responsible government and pledges of political allegiance to the cause of labor and the peasantry.

The immediate problems facing the toiling population of the West Indies is the building of a strong and united trade union movement in each colony and the establishment of an inter-colonial federation of trade unions. This will provide the basis for united and common action to achieve the economic demands of the people, and will give backbone to the movement to attain their political aspirations.

The economic, social and political problems of the West Indies and the transformation of these slave outposts of British imperialism into lands of prosperity and progress in the interest of the native population call for immediate solution. This is the task of the West Indian toilers. No material and cultural progress can be made by the people so long as economic and political power is not wrested from the hands of the colonial oligarchy.

The two basic needs and demands of the masses of the people which call for immediate settlement are the land question and political democracy. The distribution of the large estates and crown lands, held by the absentee landlords, to the landless peasants and small cultivators is a vital necessity to the life of the broadest section of the inhabitants of the colonies.

To meet the political aspirations and demands of the people, the whole diabolical system of crown colony government, through which the British ruling class disfranchises the workers and subjugates them in the interest of the sugar kings, must be swept aside by a government wholly elected by all the people and responsible to them.

In such a democratic government, representing all sections of the population, the working class, the most conscious element fighting for progress against the shackles of imperialism, will play a decisive role in alliance with the poor peasants and the progressive lower middle classes.

With control of the government in their hands, the people will have the instrument with which to remove the basic causes of their poverity—monopoly of land and industry and heavy taxation, and will be able to shape their destiny.

THE WEST INDIES AND THE IMPERIALIST WAR

It is precisely to prevent the attainment of this that the Chamberlain Government has clamped down on the civil rights of the people, instituted a most rigorous censorship, and curtailed the right of press and assembly. Already one newspaper, the *Evening News* of Jamaica, has been banned because of its fearless interpretation of the war situation and its honest presentation of the policy of the Soviet Union in connection with the war. Furthermore, in fear of the election of an opposi-

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tion Legislative Council in Jamaica, the elections scheduled for 1940 have been postponed until after the war, and in the Island of Grenada it is planned to call off elections for three years. In Trinidad, the Governor, using his dictatorial powers under the Emergency Powers (Defense) Act, 1939, has prohibited processions other than religious, and meetings or assemblages of ten or more persons without special permission, for the duration of the war.

This is British imperialist "democracy" in action in the West Indies, where the people are exhorted to sacrifice for the Empire, and huge sums of money are contributed to the British war chest without the people's consent by the planter-dominated legislatures.

But the advanced sections of the working class have not fallen prey to British war propaganda nor have they been intimidated by the harsh emergency regulations; for, instead of supporting the proclaimed British war aims and actions, they are pressing forward their demands. The attitude of organized labor toward the war is best demonstrated by their actions.

In defense of his proposal to deny a union a permit for a street meeting the Mayor of Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, stated that the agitators are "telling the blacks that they have no right to go and fight." Two conferences of important trade unions held recently in Trinidad, condemned Nazism and fascism, but omitted any pledge of support to Great Britain. The resolution adopted by the Public Works and Public Service Workers Union pledged its "support in the defense of this colony from the attack of foreign invasion," because of its "desire to assist in the protection of the liberty and freedom of the colonial peoples."

The attitude of the progressive forces in the West Indies towards this imperialist war was clearly and forcefully stated in an editorial in the liberal *Barbados Observer,* in opposition to conscription:

"In the West Indies the elementary principles of democracy are denied the native masses. Therefore, we are opposed to conscription. . . . It is sheer impudence on the part of the British ruling class to appeal to colonial workers to help them defend their ill-gotten gains. We colonial workers have not forgotten the last World War, when all kinds of promises were made to us. . . . But our masters have not fulfilled one of their promises. Instead, our reward has been more repressive laws, unemployment and starvation. . . . We have no faith in imperialist governments, regardless of whether they call themselves democratic or fascist. They are all imperialists, and, as such, the exploiters and oppressors of colonial peoples. Therefore, we are determined never again to allow ourselves to be used as cannon fodder by either camp in the war. The imperialists' difficulties must be our opportunity to strike a blow for freedom."

This unequivocal statement reflects the sentiment of wide sections of the population of the West Indies who want no part in this war between the two imperialist groups for world denomination, and who are striving to rid themselves of the

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deadly hand of imperialist control and to gain national liberation.

These strivings and aspirations of the peoples of the West Indies for democratic rights should receive the wholehearted sympathy and support from the labor and progressive forces in the United States, all the more so because of the present campaign launched by certain sections of the American imperialists for the transfer of the colonies to the United States without considering the people's sentiments and wishes.

In the name of "hemispherical defense" and under the slogan of "the Caribbean is an American lake," the advocates of the policy of transfer of the colonies, callously disregard the right of self-determination of small and weak nations.

Inspired by the campaign of Senator Lundeen of Minnesota, who openly advocates the forcible seizure of the colonies, the Havenner Bill and the McNary and Lodge resolutions have been introduced in Congress calling for the transfer of these colonies to the U.S.A. in settlement of the war debts.

The labor and progressive movements in this country are duty bound to fight against any imperialist policy or plan to redivide the colonial world and transfer peoples and their land from one power to another as mere chattels and without their explicit consent. The peoples of the West Indies, like all other peoples, are entitled to the right to control their own affairs and determine their own destiny.

The labor movement and the progressive forces in Britain have a special responsibility toward the West Indian people. They should give unqualified support to the demands of the masses for greater democratic rights and for the right to govern themselves. It is their duty to oppose consistently and fight against every policy of their own imperialist rulers to oppress and exploit the West Indian people and to aid them in their efforts at national liberation.

Every advance of the black masses in the colonies towards their freedom means a weakening of imperialism and hence a corresponding advancement in the aim of the white toilers to defeat capitalist rule and domination.

Close cooperation between the West Indian peoples and the white toilers in Great Britain, Canada and the United States for the common struggle against imperialism can be attained only if the labor movement recognizes the rights and gives active support to the demands of the West Indian people, which include: universal suffrage and self-government, freedom of speech, press, and organization; full trade union rights; enactment and enforcement of labor and social legislation; enforcement of the compulsory elementary education regulations; creation of institutions of higher education; public ownership of the monopolies and utilities; the distribution of the land held by absentee landowners, the large estates and Crown lands among the landless and poor peasants.

Such support can be given by assisting the young trade union and political movements to develop fully into real mass fighting organizations

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of the people. They can help to expose the brutal and unrestricted exploitation of the monopolies and the tyrannical colonial government imposed upon them, compelling the ruling class to grant to the people their just rights.

The Negro people in the United States can render valuable assistance to their fellow-Negroes in the West Indies. The close similarity of many of the problems affecting the Negro peoples of the West Indies and the United States—the denial of civil and democratic rights, racial discrimination, etc., establishes a firm basis between the two peoples for cooperation to attain their human rights.

The progressive Negro movement in the United States can especially assist in developing the national liberation movement in the colonies and by cooperating with the West Indian groups in the United States which are actively engaged in helping the West Indian masses in their struggles against colonial oppression and for the realization of their social and political aspirations.

The West Indian people recognize that they themselves must fight for their political and economic freedom. And they are organizing towards that end. But labor and the progressive people in Britain and North America can give valuable assistance in helping them to achieve their aim.

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ON LENIN'S CLASSIC WORK, "IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM"

BY L. MENDELSOHN

LENIN'S *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* is one of those brilliant works that are landmarks in the history of science and make a permanent contribution to knowledge.

The book was written in the first half of the year 1916, on the eve of the second anniversary of the first imperialist World War. The burdens and sufferings inflicted on the peoples by the war were becoming increasingly unbearable. A revolutionary situation was rapidly maturing in Russia and in Western Europe. The Second International was in a condition of profound crisis and disintegration. The social-chauvinists of the belligerent countries were openly serving their imperialist governments.

The influence of opportunism was waning, and among the masses the Bolshevik slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war was increasing in popularity. The split in the international working class movement was an accomplished fact, rendering the formation of the Third International an urgent task. The epoch of socialist revolutions opened. But international reformism continued to be a supreme obstacle to the unfolding of the oncoming revolution. The opportunists strove to confuse the masses with chauvinistic poison, spreading lies regarding the allegedly defensive character of the war. They tried to restrain the masses from struggle against the war. A most despicable policy was conducted by the Centrists, headed by Kautsky, who spread illusions regarding the possibility of doing away with wars under capitalism.

Judas-Trotsky, who supported the treacherous tactics of Kautsky, came out against Lenin's theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country at first. A fierce polemic also developed between the Bolsheviks and the opportunists on the national question, which assumed particularly great importance in view of the oncoming revolution.

All these fundamental issues of the revolutionary struggle were based on the general and focal question of the economic and political peculiarities of the latest stage of capitalism.

Lenin's *Imperialism, The Highest*

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Stage of Capitalism gives a detailed and comprehensive answer to this question.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPERIALISM

The book is a model in dealing with highly complex theoretical problems in a popular form understandable to millions. At the same time it is a most profound work of research that raises anew, and solves, the most difficult theoretical problems.

Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism is a clear demonstration of the further development of Marxist theory by Lenin. The starting point of Lenin's analysis is Marx's doctrine of the essence of capitalism and its main tendencies. Lenin shows that "imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental attributes of capitalism in general." But he stresses that as a result of this development, "certain fundamental attributes of capitalism began to be transformed into their opposites." He further analyzes "how the transformation of quantity into quality, of developed capitalism into imperialism, has expressed itself." (Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. V, pp. 80, 82.)

Lenin shows that by the beginning of the twentieth century there had taken place in capitalist economy most profound changes denoting the advent of a new and higher stage of capitalism—imperialism—which differs qualitatively from the stage of the supremacy of free competition. The productive forces of capitalism had undergone a gigantic growth. The concentration of social production had reached unparalleled dimensions. Associations of the biggest capitalists—monopolies—had arisen and become dominant; the role of the banks had undergone a fundamental change, and finance capital, which governs the activity of both the banks and industry, had become the decisive force in economic life; tremendous international super-monopolies had arisen, which were carrying through the economic partition of the earth; a new role was now acquired by the export of capital, which had become an instrument of the exploitation and the economic and political enslavement of the backward countries by a handful of the richest powers; the development of capitalism had become exceptionally uneven, was developing in leaps and assuming a catastrophic character; capitalism had entered the stage of decay, of moribundity.

Lenin showed that it is precisely these economic peculiarities of imperialism that give the key to a really scientific solution of the basic political problems of the present day. The brilliant conclusions, far from a complete enumeration of them, drawn by Lenin from an analysis of the economic essence of imperialism, are as follows: The World War of 1914-18 was imperialist, *i.e.,* predatory, on both sides. Similar wars under present-day capitalism are inevitable. There is a tremendous sharpening of the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat as a result of oppression by the monopolies, of the burdens of militarism and wars, which lead the working class to the

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socialist revolution. There is an extraordinary aggravation of the contradictions between the few "advanced" imperialist countries and the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the earth who have fallen into colonial and semi-colonial bondage, an aggravation of contradictions leading to a powerful upsurge of the liberation movement and to the transformation of the national-colonial question into a component part of the general question of the international socialist revolution. The labor aristocracy of the imperialist countries is bribed with crumbs from the super-profits of the monopolies. There is a growth of opportunism as one of the manifestations of the decay of capitalism. There is need for the establishment of the party of a new type as the most important condition for the victory of the socialist revolution. The simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries has become impossible, with the possibility, first, of the victory of socialism in one country.

These principles constitute the great programmatic significance of Lenin's *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. This book sums up the results of the numerous works of Lenin in which he raised and solved specific economic and political problems of the epoch of imperialism; it gives a complete, ordered and definitive exposition of the theory of imperialism developed by him. This brilliant work of Lenin must be placed in the same rank as Marx's *Capital*, of which it is the direct continuation and further development.

LENIN'S METHOD OF WORK

Lenin's *Imperialism* generalizes from a mass of concrete material that characterizes the economic and political tendencies of the latest epoch. Although, like all of Lenin's brilliant works, *Imperialism* is not voluminous, it is the result of a tremendous amount of preparatory work. Twenty notebooks have been preserved containing summaries and notes in which Lenin elaborated the ideas of his work. These summaries comprise four volumes of the *Lenin Miscellany* (Vols. XXII, XXVII, XXVIII, and XXIX) and cover almost 1,800 pages. One's attention is drawn in particular to a "Plan of an article on syndicates" (*Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. XXIX, p. 446), a work belonging apparently to the year 1912-13, and showing that Lenin had formulated by that time a number of the most important propositions of his theory of imperialism.

Over six hundred books and nearly a hundred different newspapers, journals and annuals were used and mentioned by Lenin, in his preparatory notebooks for *Imperialism*. Lenin's *Notebooks* amaze one with the exceptional minuteness with which Lenin studied all his literature, copying dozens of pages with his own hand out of many books. One is also amazed by the encyclopedic variety of the themes dealt with in the books and articles used by Lenin; here one can find works devoted to a general description of the economics of modern capitalism, weighty historical research works, books regarding

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China and Persia, numerous statistical handbooks, articles and letters of leading politicians, and tracts on public utilities.

A brilliant master of the dialectical method, Lenin studied the concrete reality in all its varied manifestations, analyzing each phenomenon in indissoluble connection with the sum total of events. Lenin did a tremendous amount of painstaking statistical work, drawing up compound tables, checking and critically analyzing each figure quoted in bourgeois statistics, contrasting the data of different authors and different handbooks. Each table quoted in *Imperialism* is the result of such analysis and of the scientific treatment of dozens of tables of tendentious official statistics. A clear example can be provided by the tables showing the partition of the earth (*Selected Works,* Vol V, pp. 70-73) and the development of railroads (*Ibid.,* pp. 87-90), which Lenin compiled by summing up figures contained in numerous statistical handbooks.

On the basis of this gigantic amount of statistical work Lenin drew the most important economic and political conclusions.

"The uneven distribution of the railways," wrote Lenin, "their uneven development—sums up, as it were, modern world monopolist capitalism. And this summing up proves that imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under *such* an economic system, *as long as* private property in the means of production exists." (Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. V, p. 8.)

POWERFUL SEARCHLIGHT ON IMPERIALIST WAR

It was with particular minuteness that Lenin analyzed the data regarding the struggle between the imperialist powers for colonies and spheres of influence.

Exceptionally interesting is Lenin's resumé entitled "The most important crisis in the international policy of the Great Powers after the years 1870-71," in which he traced the consecutive stages of preparation for the World War of 1914-18.

Lenin showed here that the war was prepared by decades of struggle for the partition and repartition of the earth. He exposed the cynicism of the imperialist vultures who cover up the predatory character of their policy with phrases about the liberation of nations.

Lenin employs a number of tables to demonstrate the very profound unevenness in the distribution of colonies among the Great Powers, the disparity between the economic strength of the states and their share in the colonial booty, and draws the very important conclusion that imperialist wars for the repartition of the already divided world are inevitable. In 1914 England was very much behind Germany in size of population, dimensions and technical level of industry, scale of monopolies, and strength of the army. But England possessed colonies with a population of 394 millions as against the 12 millions in population of the German colonies. Here lay hidden the main cause of the war, which the bourgeoisie and the Socialists

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endeavored to hide from the masses with slogans about war for the alleged liberation of Belgium, Serbia, etc. In exposing the falsity of these slogans Lenin wrote:

"The Anglo-French bourgeoisie is deceiving the people when it says that it wages war for the freedom of peoples, including Belgium; in reality, it wages war for the sake of holding on to the colonies which it has stolen on a large scale. The German imperialists would free Belgium, etc., forthwith, were the English and the French willing to share with them the colonies on the basis of 'justice.' It is a peculiarity of the present situation that the fate of the colonies is being decided by war on the continent." (Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. XVIII, p. 223.)

These words of Lenin are precisely applicable to the present ruling circles in England and France, who assert that the war against Germany is being waged to restore Poland and destroy Hitlerism. These assertions are being circulated with a view to hiding from the masses the really imperialist, predatory character of this war which is being waged for a repartition of the earth, for a repartition of the colonies. England now exploits 450 million colonial slaves, and France nearly 66 millions. This is more than three-quarters of the population of all colonial countries. England's foreign revenue, derived in the main from the exploitation of its boundless colonial empire, amounted in the year 1929 alone to 378 million pounds sterling. Lenin wrote the following in 1908 about the methods of wringing out these incomes:

"There is no end to the violence and plunder which is called British Rule in India." (Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. IV, p. 299.)

The real aims of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie in the present war are to maintain their colonial monopoly and colonial super-profits and to weaken Germany, which is laying claim to a share in the colonial booty. Anti-Hitler slogans are being used by the Anglo-French bourgeoisie and their obliging lackeys of the Socialist Parties as instruments to deceive the masses, to drive millions to slaughter for interests alien to them.

Lenin's *Imperialism* provides us with a priceless theoretical weapon for analyzing the most important problems of today. The position of Social-Democracy in the present war can only be correctly estimated if we base ourselves on Lenin's doctrine regarding the connection between opportunism and imperialism, regarding the bribery—at the expense of colonial super-profits—of the top layers of the labor aristocracy and their transformation into real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement. Exceptionally real today also is Lenin's thesis that "political reaction along the whole line—is an attribute of imperialism" (Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. XIX, p. 302, Russ. ed.), regardless of the specific forms of bourgeois domination. For the policy of the colonial enslavement of other peoples, the policy of wars of plun-

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der is incompatible with real democracy.

* * *

Running through the whole of Lenin's book and the preparatory work for it is a ruthless, uncompromising struggle against all apologetics of capitalism and every kind of opportunism, particularly Kautskyism, and the treacherous conceptions of Trotsky, Bukharin and Pyatakov. Lenin's book breathes profound revolutionary ardor. It gives a theoretical analysis of imperialism which is an exceedingly keen instrument in the revolutionary struggle. It graphically demonstrates the inestimable significance of theory in solving the tasks of revolutionary practice.

In connection with an article of the Austrian Social-Democrat Renner, Lenin gave the following devastating characterization of opportunism and of the unbridgeable gulf that separates it from Bolshevism:

"We and they:

"1. Renner . . . and Co.—lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"2. Kautsky, Hilferding and Co. (plus closest friend—Trotsky), persuaders for the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"Improvers for the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"Reformers of *it.*

"3. Lefts—revolutionary fighters *against* it." *(Lenin Miscellany,* Vol. XXIX, p. 131.)

Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism shows how splendidly Lenin applied the dialectical method in analyzing the most complex problems. Lenin showed how monopoly, which *negates* free competition, leads to the appearance of new, particularly acute forms of *competition,* to the intensification of the chaotic character of social production, and to the sharpening crisis. Lenin disclosed the combination, characteristic of imperialism, of two outwardly opposed, but internally connected, tendencies of the economic development of imperialism; the tendency towards accelerating technical progress and the general growth of capitalism, and the tendency to decay, to check, to hold up the progress of technique and the growth of productive forces. The result is that the unevenness of economic development is accentuated to an enormous degree.

Lenin laid bare the dual role of the export of capital, which, on the one hand, hastens the development of capitalism in the colonies and semi-colonies, but, on the other hand, economically enslaves them and in the last analysis operates as a factor dooming them to backwardness.

Exceptional significance also attaches to the dialectics of the influence of imperialism on the working class movement, as disclosed by Lenin. On the one hand, imperialism extends the basis of opportunism, by creating in all the foremost countries (prior to imperialism this was typical of England alone) the conditions for bribing part of the labor aristocracy. At the same time, however, imperialism inflicts on the working people such burdens and privations as intensify the process

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of revolutionizing wide masses, render the influence of opportunism unstable and create favorable conditions for the development of the new type of party capable of leading the masses to storm the stronghold of capitalism.

The period of more than twenty-three years that have passed since Lenin wrote *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* has been marked by the splendid triumph of Lenin's ideas as developed in his work. History has wholly and completely confirmed Lenin's brilliant teaching on imperialism and his basic thesis that "imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution." (Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. V, p. 5.)

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JOINT MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

PEOPLE of France, Great Britain and Germany: For four months now imperialist war has set you one against the other for the greater profit of the magnates of capital. Just as in the imperialist war of 1914-18 the possessing classes have hurled the peoples into war in order to preserve their domination over markets, raw materials, colonies; and once again they shelter their war of gangsterism and greed behind the cloak of "defense of the fatherland." Just as in 1914, the imperialist powers want to carry out a new division of the world in their own interests, and upon all of them lies the responsibility of the present war, by means of which they wish to secure vast profits and to crush the working masses of the whole world.

* * *

When, after the war of 1914-18, the victorious imperialists solemnly proclaimed at Versailles that the Kaiser's Germany was alone responsible for the outbreak of the first imperialist war, the workers of France, Britain and Germany denounced this shameless lie and themselves proclaimed to the world that it was the British, French and German capitalists and their respective governments who bore the joint and indivisible responsibility.

After the German people had rid themselves of Wilhelm II, they wished to proceed further along the path of liberation. In January, 1919, the Spartacist revolution was on the move in Berlin, where the workers sought to follow Moscow's example and set up a Soviet republic. But to defend their place and privilege, the German capitalists found Socialist leaders like Gustav Noske, who had Karl Liebknecht murdered—Liebknecht, the hero of the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war—and who were helped in this sorry task by the moneybags of London and Paris.

Workers of France, never forget that while it was Bismarck who helped Thiers in 1871 to overwhelm the glorious Paris Commune by releasing to him French prisoners of war who were to form the Versailles army, so in 1919 it was Marshal Foch who helped the Socialist traitor Noske to crush the German revolution by supplying him with thousands of machine guns.

Furthermore, the gang of victorious imperialists remarked with bitterness that if the war had brought them immense gains of all kinds, it

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had also led to the establishment of Soviet power in the former tsarist empire. So, the imperialist war was hardly over when the British and French, the Americans and the Japanese, flung themselves on the Russian Revolution, aiming at the destruction of the Soviets.

Yet these efforts of international counter-revolution were in vain, and the French people are proud that in those days it was the sailors of the Black Sea fleet with the heroic André Marty at their head, who by their mutiny in defense of Soviet Russia, expressed the deep affection and great expectations that the lasting victory of the great socialist revolution of November, 1917, had aroused among the workers of all countries. This hatred entertained by the imperialists for the land of socialism victorious throws light on the activities of those responsible for the present war.

From the beginning the workers of Britain and France fought side by side with their German brothers against the hateful Versailles treaty, which condemned the German people to the most shocking privation, set crushing burdens upon them, and made them endure double exploitation, adding foreign capitalism to German. Under the Communist banner, workers of the three countries fought together for years against the crying injustices of the Versailles Treaty, against the national humiliation imposed on the German people, against the serfdom enforced by the British and French imperialists. Moreover, the British imperialists, after Versailles as before, continued their policy of the "balance of power," supporting and opposing France and Germany in turn, in order to prevent either of these two capitalist powers from gaining too much strength as against British imperialism.

* * *

By continuing, despite the action of the international working class, to subject the German people to the servitude of the Versailles Treaty, the rulers of London and Paris gave sustenance to fascist propaganda in Germany, and in accord with the German Socialist leaders, ready for anything in order to prevent the workers' victory over capitalism, they prepared the way for Hitler. The governing classes of Britain and France were by no means averse to the establishment in Germany of a regime of violence against the working class and to anti-Soviet provocation; from the start they conceived that they could make use of this regime to prosecute at home their policy of social retrogression, and abroad to further their plans for the destruction of the land of socialism.

This explains why the British and French imperialists allowed Hitler to act against the Versailles Treaty in a way that they would never have tolerated before. It was because they hoped that Nazi Germany might be embroiled in a war with the Soviet Union which would have enabled The City bankers and the French financiers to achieve their imperialist and counter-revolutionary plans over the war-exhausted systems of Germany and the U.S.S.R.

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This criminal design of the imperialists of Britain and France makes understandable the so-called policy of "non-intervention" operated by Blum, which secured the defeat of the Spanish Republic by fascism and struck a blow at the entire international working class. This design alone makes understandable the acceptance of the Munich agreement by the British and French Governments who freely sacrificed the existence of the Czechoslovak state to the achievement of a Four-Power Pact directed against the Soviet Union. All was ready for the dispatch of Germany into war with the U.S.S.R.; and to prepare for this the rulers of France and Britain deceived their own public opinion by starting negotiations with the Soviet Union which they had decided from the outset to make abortive.

But Hitler, whom his imperialist rivals, adversaries and accomplices in London and Paris wished to embark on an anti-Soviet war, thought anxiously of the consequences that might ensue for him from an adventure in the East against the great country of socialism, strong in its fully functioning socialist economy, strong in its Red Army inspired with splendid morale, and equipped in the most modern fashion, and strong also in the boundless sympathy of millions of workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world. That is why, just as he was about to make his leap in the dark, Hitler drew back and signed the Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union, which should indeed have been hailed as an instrument of peace since it removed the danger of a conflagration in the East of Europe.

This however, by no means served the purpose of the British and French imperialists who had put their industries on a footing ready for war, who had arranged their capitalist investments similarly, and who had no intention of allowing their plans to be checked. Poland, which had been part of the scheme to touch off the Soviet-German conflict, and which Britain had advised to refuse all Soviet assistance in the event of aggression, was the pretext for the outbreak of the imperialist war. On August 25, Britain signed a pact of mutual assistance with Poland and encouraged that country to resist in the matter of settling the ownership of Danzig and of the celebrated Corridor, which was nevertheless one of the chief monstrosities of the Versailles Treaty.

The most sordid imperialist operations are naturally always shrouded by high-sounding principles. Thus, reactionary and fascist Poland, oppressing thirteen millions of Byelo-Russians and Ukrainians, and subjecting the working masses to the most brutal exploitation, becomes for Chamberlain and Daladier the symbol of the independence of the peoples. Just as the revolver shots at Sarajevo were the pretext and not the cause of the first imperialist war, so the self-styled defense of Poland by Britain and France has been but the pretext for the second imperialist war, of which the peoples are at this moment enduring the most cruel consequences.

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The workers of Britain, France and Germany are not deceived by the imperialist lies about the liberty of peoples. Those who oppress 300,000,000 Indians, those who have shed the blood of the Irish fighting for freedom, those who brought desolation and death to South Africa to subjugate the Boers, those who let thousands of Indo-Chinese who fought for the independence of their country perish in jail, those who refuse even to enfranchise the Arabs of North Africa—all those who subject to their imperialist dominion more than five hundred millions of human beings have no more right to speak of the liberty of people than have the present masters of Germany.

It is not the imperialists who will give the peoples their liberty. This will be done by the workers whose victory will be the victory of the liberty and brotherhood of all peoples. Neither Chamberlain nor Daladier nor Hitler can proclaim themselves the defenders of the people's liberty. The workers of Britain, France and Germany denounce the hypocrisy of all these oppressors of the people, and in the freeing of the populations of Byelo-Russia and the Western Ukraine they greet a striking victory for the liberty of peoples achieved under the banner of the Soviet Union.

While in 1914 the British and French capitalists claimed to be defending civilization against German barbarism, and the German capitalists claimed to be defending Germanic culture against tsarist Russia, so today Chamberlain and Daladier claim to be defending democracy against Hitler. Yet it is apparent to everyone that the war clamps onto all three warring countries a similar regime of violence and dictatorship, clearly showing that if imperialist war aims are the pursuit abroad of a policy of conquest and domination, at home it enables social conquests to be overturned, liberties to be destroyed, and the people made to suffer unlimited oppression. There are concentration camps in France and British India, as well as in Germany. Parliament has been degraded into a rubber stamp for the government as much in France as in Germany. Men who think for themselves and speak up for peace are persecuted in France as they are in Germany. In France the Communist Party has been driven into illegality, like the Party of Thaelmann in Germany. That is why it is the duty of the British and French workers to expose the humbug of the rulers of London and Paris, who indulge in anti-Hitler chatter to deceive public opinion, while at the same time they employ the worst Hitlerite methods of violence and oppression against their own people.

* * *

During the first imperialist war, when the Socialist Parties of all countries had been engulfed in their betrayal, and were linked in unholy alliance with the warmongers, when the Party of Lenin and Stalin was alone in holding aloft the banner of struggle against the imperialist war, Karl Liebknecht said bluntly in the teeth of the German imperialists: "The enemy is in our own country."

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Yes, the enemy is in our own country and there it is that we must fight him. From 1914-1918 the French Socialists fought German capitalism, but supported French capitalism, and vice versa. Today, the Socialist leaders support reaction in France and Britain under the pretext of fighting it abroad.

Standing forth against this treacherous and two-faced policy, which shackles the workers to the chariot wheels of their own capitalists—

The French Communists declare that the duty of the French workers is to fight Daladier with all their might.

The British Communists declare that the duty of the British workers is to fight Chamberlain with all their might.

The German Communists declare that the duty of the German workers is to fight Hitler with all their might.

And further in the face of the capitalists of the three countries, the Communists of Britain, France and Germany proclaim their deep attachment to the Soviet Union which, guided by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, has secured the victory of socialism over one-sixth of the earth's surface, and fills with the brightest hope the hearts of the world's workers.

The workers of Britain, France and Germany joyfully greet the recent successes of the land of socialism, which has raised the Red flag of liberty over Western Byelo-Russia and Western Ukraine, mutual assistance with the Baltic States, and which has responded to the appeal of the People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland for help to re-establish the independence of its country, turned into a base for anti-Soviet provocation and ultimately action at the behest of those who, twenty years ago, attacked the Russian Revolution in the Arctic as well as in the Black Sea and the Far East, landing troops at Archangel and Murmansk. At this moment when the capitalist system, ravaged by its internal contradictions, offers a spectacle of entire confusion and disorder, at this moment when the ruling class unhesitatingly jettisons its own legality—as Lenin stressed during the first imperialist war—and burdens the toiling population with the most crushing dictatorship and the most grinding poverty, the Soviet Union points to every people the path of struggle and liberation. That is why a surging wave of hope and confidence in the U.S.S.R. rises from the hearts of the people.

* * *

People of Britain, France and Germany: The war that has been thrust upon you involves you in heavy sacrifices, shocking hardships and grave dangers, but it has not plunged the people into the blackness of despair, as did the war of 1914. The Socialist leaders, lieutenants of British finance, have turned traitor once again, but this time the Communists raise aloft the flag of struggle against the imperialist war, while the Soviet Union affords the workers of all countries the certainty of final victory.

The Communists are proud to be

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assailed by all the warmongers, starvers of the people and their Socialist agents. Despite all the persecutions of Daladier, Chamberlain and Hitler, they will continue their untiring battle for bread, for liberty, for peace. We Communists, French, British and German, call you to the fight against the imperialist war, to the fight for peace and the brotherhood of peoples.

Let us fight unitedly and with all our might to prevent the imperialist governments from uniting tomorrow against the land of socialism and sending you all there to fight it.

Let us fight unitedly and with all our might, Socialist and Communist workers alike, against the traitorous Socialist leaders who have gone over to the imperialist warmongers.

Let us fight unitedly and with all our might, in town, village and factory so that (as George Dimitroff, hero of the Leipzig trial and Secretary of the Communist International, has said) "the working class can finish the war after its own fashion and its own interest, the interest of the whole of toiling humanity, thus uprooting forever the fundamental causes of imperialist wars."

Down with the imperialist war!

Down with the governments of the imperialist warmongers!

Long live the united action of the peoples of France, Britain and Germany against the imperialist enemy in their own country, to bring victory for peace and the brotherhood of peoples.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Soviet Union, fatherland of the world's workers!

Forward against capitalism and for the final victory of socialism!

The Communist Party of France
The Communist Party of Great Britain
The Communist Party of Germany
January, 1940

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CORRESPONDENCE

Editor, *The Communist:*

In my article "Roosevelt, The War, and the New Deal," published in the January issue of *The Communist,* an important clause was inadvertently omitted, on page 35, thus distorting the meaning of an essential political point and possibly leading to certain false assumptions in complete contradiction to the main political line and conclusions of the article.

In one sentence on page 35, referring to the 1940 elections, the printed text reads: "The Democratic Party will undoubtedly come forward as the defender of 'American neutrality' and for 'aid to the democracies by measures short of war,' as well as lay claim to being the party of 'New Deal social reforms.' . . ." This sentence should be corrected in accordance with the original copy to read: "The Democratic Party will undoubtedly come forward as the defender of 'American neutrality,' and for 'aid to the democracies by measures short of war' (*if by then the increasingly aggressive imperialist war policy and preparations of the Roosevelt Government and Wall Street have not resulted in dragging the United States into the predatory war as a military combatant, especially in a 'holy war' against the Soviet Union),* as well as lay claim to being the party of 'New Deal social reforms.'"

Obviously the omission of that section of the sentence italicized and placed in parentheses above is no small matter. For as emphasized throughout the article and confirmed by developments subsequent to writing it in December, the war plans and activities of American imperialism and the government, particularly its bellicose anti-Soviet orientation, its provocative diplomatic and financial interventions in Scandinavia and Finland in collaboration with Anglo-French imperialism for the purpose of widening the imperialist war and creating a new counter-revolutionary front against the U.S.S.R., its anti-Soviet intrigues with Mussolini and the Vatican—all are *daily entangling the United States deeper in the imperialist war and anti-Soviet machinations. And if the war policies and moves of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the government are not resolutely combatted by the American working class and toilers, these may yet result in plunging our country into war during 1940.* In this connection it is important to take into account that influential Wall Street circles, including the House of Morgan, aided and abetted by the Roosevelt Administration, are endeavoring, as indicated in the *United States News* and other bour-

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geois journals, to involve the U.S.A. in the imperialist war as an Allied belligerent and in a new "anti-Comintern" alliance and war front against the Soviet Union *by the summer of 1940*. Concerning this possibility, one also must not overlook the war-making imperialist "peace moves" of the President which, according to the press, are scheduled to be initiated around Easter in connivance with the Pope with the so-called objective of "promoting peace and preventing the spread of Communism."

In view of this, it is not only imperative to expose just how the United States is being edged and propelled step by step into the imperialist war by the Roosevelt Government and the American monopolists under the guise of "neutrality," "national unity," and "aiding the democracies by measures short of war"; but likewise it is essential to signalize that the danger of America's involvement in the predatory war as a military belligerent is not a hazard of the distant future but is becoming more imminent daily; and therefore that the task of unmasking and combatting the war plans and actions of our own imperialist bourgeoisie and government becomes more pressing than ever and requires the utmost vigilance and the most stubborn and concerted mass action of the working class and its allies if this threatening catastrophe is to be averted.

Comradely,
Gene Dennis

January 15, 1940

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BOOK REVIEWS

LENIN ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

THEORY OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. By V. I. Lenin, Selected Works. Volume XII. International Publishers, New York, $2.00.

VERY early in his career Lenin felt a concern for refuting the petty bourgeois socialism of the Narodniki and Socialist Revolutionaries. These looked to the village *mir* (commune) as the base of socialist development instead of to the revolutionary movement led by the working class. During his prison term and exile (beginning in 1897) Lenin wrote his monumental work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.* This includes extremely valuable chapters (not yet made available in English) on the class lines among peasants and the growth of a rural proletariat.

Lenin's persistent emphasis on the economic basis of peasant life in Russia was not due merely to the obvious fact that peasants outnumbered workers and that the workers could not hope to emancipate themselves if the masses of peasants did not ally themselves with them in struggle. Even in countries where industry overshadowed agriculture and where urban population greatly outnumbered rural population, he considered it vitally important for the revolutionary movement to interpret correctly the problems burdening those who live on the land. For the process of class differentiation among them, which is inseparable from capitalist development, produces a mass of oppressed, landless, and poverty-stricken farmers who cannot hope for a basic solution of their difficulties under capitalism and are the natural and indispensable allies of the wage-workers.

This newest volume, XII, of Lenin's *Selected Works* brings to American readers Lenin's study of *Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America.* A preliminary translation has had limited circulation here in mimeographed form, but now for the first time we have a definitive translation of this pioneer work. The fact that the latest available data were the statistics from the census of 1900 and the census of 1910 does not dim the freshness of Lenin's analysis. Like much of his theoretical writing, this study was a polemic. A now forgotten German economist whose writings had a certain vogue in Russia was misusing American statistics to "prove" that small farms were increasingly important and that, in general, agriculture is not subject to the laws of capitalist development. Since most of the experts

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who write on American agriculture are still wandering in a fog of similar delusions (although later census data have fully confirmed Lenin's analysis), this study, now available in permanent form, is an indispensable weapon in the hands of Marxist students.

The volume also includes a longer (and earlier) work entitled *The Agrarian Question and the Critics of Marx*. This also, as its title indicates, was a polemic, replying both to certain Russians and to others, chiefly German. Here, as always with Lenin, the theoretical argument is grounded in a thorough knowledge of Marx (whom the critics misrepresented); of the contemporary writers (from whom the critics sometimes misquoted); and of basic statistical material. When Lenin stated general principles of agricultural development in the capitalist world, he was drawing conclusions buttressed with data from countries as diverse as Russia, Germany, and Denmark.

Some of our reformers who are lured by the "middle way" of Scandinavian cooperatives might well ponder Lenin's analysis of the data on Danish farmers. Most of the output came from large farms employing wage labor. These farmers dominated the cooperatives which, as Lenin pointed out, were a form of capitalist organization. But large farms were a minority of all, and most farmers were so poor that they had to seek employment as wage workers.

Two other important pieces are included in this volume on the theory of the agrarian question. It opens with Lenin's review of Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage* (the Agrarian Question) which had appeared in 1899 and was recognized by Lenin as a valuable analytical work, although weak in its political conclusions. This volume ends with a chapter on "The Theoretical Principles of Nationalization and Municipalization" from Lenin's pamphlet *The Agrarian Program of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*. (Other chapters of this pamphlet appear in the third volume of the *Selected Works*.)

Of special interest to American readers is a little-known article by Marx on the land question in America in the 1840's. Lenin reprints part of it and draws political lessons for the Russian Social-Democrats in 1905. These few pages make an important contribution to the underlying principles by which to judge the usefulness of immediate measures. Hermann Kriege, a young associate of the youthful Marx, was putting forth in his newly-established *Volkstribun* (one of the earliest working class papers in the United States) a demand for free distribution of land to all who might apply. Marx endorsed the demand but sharply criticized the arguments by which Kriege supported it. Marx said, among other things:

"Had Kriege regarded the movement for freeing the land as an initial form of the proletarian movement, necessary under certain conditions; had he regarded it as a movement which, by reason of the position in life of the class from which it proceeds, must necessarily

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develop into a communist movement; had he shown that the communist tendencies in America had at first to reveal themselves in this agrarian form which seems to contradict all communism, there would have been nothing to object to. But he declares what is only a subordinate form of a movement of certain definite people to be the cause of mankind in general; he represent it . . . as the final and highest aim of every movement in general, and thus transforms the definite aims of the movement into sheer bombastic nonsense."

Lenin comments as follows:

"Marx's presentation of the case against Kriege should serve as a model for us Russian Social-Democrats. . . . The organization of an independent party of the proletariat which, through all democratic changes, will strive for a complete socialist revolution, must be our constant aim, which must not be lost sight of for a moment. But to turn our backs on the peasant movement on this ground would be hopeless philistinism and pedantry. No, there is no doubt about the revolutionary and democratic nature of this movement; and we must support it with all our might, develop it, make it a politically conscious and definitely class movement, push it forward, march hand in hand with it to the end—for we are marching far beyond the end of any peasant movement; we are marching to the very end of the division of society into classes."

Lenin was writing chiefly of Russia, where capitalism was developing in the midst of still-surviving feudalism. In these selections his eye was focused on the political possibilities in Russia, where at that time measures hastening a free capitalist development would have been progressive and revolutionary. He turned again and again to other countries of a more advanced capitalist economy to illustrate his points on the economic laws underlying the development of modern agriculture.

Today, in the United States, sharecroppers are suffering from a semi-feudal survival of pre-capitalist relationships. But cotton production is absolutely tied in with the capitalist system. And much of the cotton and most of the commercial production in other branches of farming come from enterprises depending in varying degrees upon some employment of wage labor. The farm crisis with which we are concerned has many phases, including loss of land ownership, impossible burdens of debt, decline of markets, and prices too low to cover farmers' cost of production. The crisis reflects the essentially capitalist nature of American agriculture as a whole. It has been greatly intensified by the general crisis of capitalism, which began with the World War, and by the cyclical economic crises which have been more frequent and more severe than formerly. American farmers today are in a world very different from the world of the Russian peasant before the first World War; but the economic laws underlying the farm problem have not changed. These writings of Lenin, dating from a different period, are essential to the understanding of the deep-going prob-

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lems confronting the American farmers, on which can be based correct political action today.

In every country and at every stage of capitalist development, the problems of the working class and the problems of the poorer farmers are so closely interrelated that they cannot be solved separately. Only a movement which makes its own a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the farm crisis can draw the correct political conclusions and prove itself a competent leader of the oppressed and exploited masses.

ANNA ROCHESTER

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LATEST BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

BOOKS

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, by V. I. Lenin, Little Lenin Library Series, International Publishers, N. Y., new edition. 30c.

"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, by V. I. Lenin, Little Lenin Library Series, International Publishers, N. Y., new edition. 25c.

Foundations of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, N. Y., new edition. 10c.

Stalin's Early Writings and Activities—On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations of the Transcaucasus, by L. Beria, International Publishers, N. Y. 75c.

A Textbook of Dialectical Materialism, by David Guest, International Publishers, N. Y. 60c.

Two Systems: Capitalist Economy and Socialist Economy, by Eugene Varga, International Publishers, N. Y. $2.00.

Culture and the People, by Maxim Gorky, International Publishers, N. Y. $1.50.

The Other Germany, by Erika and Klaus Mann, Modern Age Books, Inc., N. Y. $2.75.

Health in Handcuffs, by John A. Kingsbury, Modern Age Books, Inc., N. Y. 75c.

Restless Wave: My Life in Two Worlds, by Haru Matsui, Modern Age Books, Inc., N. Y. $2.50.

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PAMPHLETS

Earl Browder Takes His Case to the People, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y. 2c.

The War Crisis: Questions and Answers, by William Z. Foster, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y. 5c.

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The Truth About Finland, by Israel Amter, Communist Party of New York State, 1c.

M. J. Olgin, Leader and Teacher, Prepared by Staff of *Morning Freiheit,* Workers Library Publishers, N. Y. 5c.

Get Organized, Stories and Poems About Trade Union People, edited by Alan Calmer, International Publishers, N. Y. 10c.

Letters to Liberals on the Soviet Union and the World Crisis, Communist Party of New England, Boston, Mass. 2c.

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